/vii/

Note on the Transcriptions, Sigla, and Abbreviations

A) Transcriptions

121 104 Although based on a mass of names of places and groups, this research has no linguistic aims. It has therefore resigned itself to a summary system of transcriptions, those used, for example, by the "Bibliotheca arabica" of the Université d' Alger /University of Algiers/, the periodical *Ibla* of Tunis, etc. Some of the sounds peculiar to the Chleuh /Schluh/ are therefore rendered only very roughly. It is considered that as a general rule the local speech disregards the long vowels and that, on the other hand, the laryngeal fricative, characteristic of Arabic (where we render it by the rude character ^{c}), was so little stressed that it could be transcribed, as E. Laoust does in some of his work, by an â.

[191] As modest as they may be, these ambitions did run into certain difficulties, from the time that one had to note the distinctive manner of the Berbère /Berber/ speech of the Seksawa, the Arabic vernacular that they occasionally use (and the citations in which we have preceded by the sigla *ar*), and their notarial language with its technological turn and classical pretensions. And these distinctions sometimes force their way through for the same word, which it is therefore necessary to transcribe differently a few lines apart.

The truth is that a contradiction lay between the importance conferred on the linguistic material by our inquiry and the impossibility of rigorously rendering all these names and all these words, with which we were met for lack of typographic means and, above all, of specialization.

128 104 Finally, the circumstances that took me away from the Atlas and from Morocco at the time of the printing of the book kept me from the final verifications and prevented my taking from the dedicated checking by M. L. Galand all the profit that might have been expected from so valuable a contribution.

/3 cont./
101 limited and at the same time /4/ fleeting. Signifying but not signified /Fr.: signifiant sans signifié/, we should say, if we dare resort to a convenient terminology. But these syllables, on the other hand, convey exact topographical correspondences. The perimeter of the lands that they cover has remained nearly fixed since the twelfth century, date of the oldest written testimony; and undoubtedly that is not the beginning. In the disorders of this [175] history in full motion, a history of nomads, of transfers of races and of ethnic conquerors, here in a corner of the Atlas is a people who very likely have not budged, whose existence in the same place is attested to for nearly a thousand years. And that is not peculiar to it. The same thing or nearly so could be said of its [361] Maçmûda cousins. We certainly knew that we were in a society of sedentary peoples, that it was even a matter of the oldest sedentary peoples of the Maghreb. But where the matter becomes complicated is that, if the name itself has remained immutable and localized, this immutability was only formal.

619 144 101 Just as certainly as the Seksawa have preserved themselves here, as such, since the Almohade epic, which found them and left them in the same place, today 90 % perhaps, or even more, are nothing more than allogeneous. This is not a matter of those imperceptible transformations, inherent in the life of a people, and which mean that there are no pure races, in the biological sense of the term. It is a matter of replacements, catalogued in popular memory and which, over the four centuries embraced by local traditions, assert themselves as the most unimpeachable fact, and almost as a basic datum of this personality.

121 619 174 101 It is a great debate to seek out, for a given peopling, what has been the determining factor, of the group or of the territory (1).

1. A. Moret and G. Davy, Des clans aux empires /From Clans to Empires/, 1923, pp. 64 sq.

One Berberist has put forth the hypothesis that appellations such as

/4 cont./
121 Seksawa, Urika, Gedmiwa, etc., have above all a topographic
619 content (2).
174
101

2. E. Laoust, "Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/," R. E. I., 1939, III-IV, and 1940, I-II, offprint, p. 150. Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 90 sq., had already judiciously distinguished three kinds of groups: the tribe, the village, and the district. He made much use of this last idea, pp. 268 sq. M. Quedenfeldt, Division et répartition de la population berbère au Maroc /Division and distribution of the Berber population in Morocco/, H. Simon tr., p. 131, notes that between H'âh'a and Ntifa "live tribes that bear all the same names as their principal establishments."

A large part of the sedentary peoples of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ happen to fit the case. These populations are the only ones of the Maghreb, perhaps, whose permanence of settlement can be affirmed over as extended a lapse of time, hence the only ones who offer some guarantee for this kind of supposition.

121 /5/ Posed in this way, the problem is insoluble. In order to
101 clarify it, it is necessary to resort to units far more modest than these names of peoples, the only ones known from the chronicle. It is necessary to resort, on the topographical plane, to the name for the ground; on the human plane, to that of the agnatic group. These are two leading realities there. They will not cease to guide us in all this research. And already, any first analysis of a term like that of Seksawa makes felt the combination that it effects between a geographic value and and a historic value.

101 The name can deliver more. Today it is perpetuated in its present form. This one seems to have prevailed since the Sâadians.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 619 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u
Âli. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint be-
[776] came /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his
intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them.
Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have pre-
served only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are
found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s,
[423] and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of present-
ing nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force.
Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and
numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still ex-
hibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Âbdella.
Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence?
granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody ad-
venture of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 124 For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of
the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal lo-
cal witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest
tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now
[631] one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the
existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate
great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attri-
buting such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint,
of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between
these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

/92 cont./
114 That was the object of the masterly work of /93/ R. Montagne.
It rests on a comparativism extended to the whole Moroccan
Berbère world and, locally, on the direct observations undertaken
by our first officers. Among them stand out R. Montagne him-
self, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Involved
in the reconnaissance which preceded, accompanied, amplified
the pacification, they were struck by the antagonism of the small
republics and the great caids. The coming-and-going from one
form to the other, they studied it in the very act and from this
disentangled historical and practical information. The incidents,
if they have varied, are not exhausted even today. Therefore it
● (121) is not only because it was admirably thorough, but also because
certain of these lessons remain topical that this investigation will
not be continued by our work. But it goes without saying that it
will provide it with substantial cross-checking on what I call the
stage of arrival, that is, the first quarter of the twentieth century.

175 At this time, the political life of the Seksawa was ordered
721 according to sections echeloned from downstream to upstream.
At each level stretch, a military division was on the move in
[701] conquering pushes. For some of them they only lacked luck in
order to stretch from the Haouz to the Sous, like Glawa,
Gund'afa, Mtugga.

In the high mountains, the a. H'adduyws extended their
enterprises from the Aghbar to the Idaw Mh'mud. In the middle
valley, the Idma and the Imt'ddan were ambitious for the Haut
Dwiran and the middle valley of the asif el-Mal. The a. Lh'sen
had a man of war, Caid Lmokhtar, who dominated for a time
from the a. Musa to the Iguntar. Still lower, the a. Abdella
tried their hand at the role of precursor of the plains power,
officials or conquerors: a wise conciergerie /caretaker's post/
tactic.

616 These individual silhouettes (1)

[121]
[113]

1. We have studied them from the viewpoint
of the psychological documentation that they

/93 cont./

616 /footnote 1 continued/ furnish in "Vérité et
[121] Poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and Poetry from
(113) the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

move on the bicolor background of the leff-s. That is doubtlessly
[184] true then on the scale of the Atlas. Less true on that of the
Seksawa, where precisely this bipartism does not stand out with
the same regularity as in Gedmiwa, in the Nffis, or even among
the neighboring Mez'ud'a. We shall seek the reasons for such an
121 anomaly. However that may be, R. Montagne has described the
way in which the force of groups, the rise of individuals, and
(114) these great balanced symmetries interfere in this game too well
/94/ for us to enter into contemporary history following him. In
sum, we shall only ask, especially this first and so precious an
ensemble of information, to act as buffer to our own proceedings
(1).

1. And, let us emphasize it once again, to exempt this work, which does not wish by any title to be a political essay or even a study of political sociology, from developments on the present stage.

Inductions from the Present?

174 But is that indeed all that historical research can draw from
121 this?

This sinusoid of power, clearly registrable for over two centuries, up to where does one follow its prolongation into the past? And this social dualism, so appropriate for accounting for the present political configurations, does it not offer an elegant explication of older facts and, by degrees, the basic structures
(114) of the Maghreb? Some, and not the least important ones,

/94 cont./

174 121 [114] have believed so (2).

2. H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* /History of Morocco/, makes a case for the hypothesis of the *leff*-s for ancient periods. t. I, 1949, pp. 30 sq. Likewise R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides* /Eastern Barbary under the Hafsids/, t. II, 1947, p. 169, considers that the "bipartite system of the soffs, so well known..., was already operating, from all evidence, in the Middle Ages." Tempting suggestions of J. Lambert with regard to the "Tablettes Albertini," *R. afr.*, 1953, pp. 200 sq.

At least one thing favors them: the vitality, with ample correspondences, of the least canton of the Atlas. Today we are tempted to enclose it within its walls. But could it not be that we are fractioning to excess the cadres of this history? Certainly analysis fragments. It is perhaps too affected by the stage of arrival, which is discontinuous, not only for the Atlas, but for all of North Africa. This reality reaches us all in little bits, like shattered auto-glass. But shattered by what shocks or, rather, what evolutions? Perhaps the case of the Seksawa ought to guide one to distinguish, in the remotenesses of the old and medieval Maghreb, larger ensembles, a more malleable space. In the last part of this work, we shall seek to dig out a decisive hypothesis for the interpretation of these societies.

174 As conjectural as the oldest period may be in the case of the Seksawa, it brings out that a vocation for great spaces and for a great history has been shattered in them toward the middle of the fourteenth century. The *taqbilt*, which was formerly ordered in the N.-S. direction, which is that of its waters, its relief, its lands, and its plants, was to be broken into transversal stretches. The conversion from the one disposition to the other invited intrusions. The valley became populated with usurpers. The authentic Seksawa no longer exist except /95/ cramped on both

/99 cont./

113 114 /footnote 1 continued/ mountains, La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II /The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world at the time of Philip II/, 1949, pp. 5 sq.

182 three relations characterize the economy of these rural societies. First the composition of their natural cadre: a mountainous basin opening on the plain; then the artificial circulation of their waters from ground to ground; finally, the hibernal movement of their herds.

The Plain-Mountain Relation

● 121 This first relation, well known in human geography, can we put it here as one usually does, that is to say, in terms of complementarity? Needs and products of the mountain would find their counterpart in those of the plain. Stock-raising and horticulture versus cereal cultivation. But it would then be necessary to agree that, beside so many traits of an already mature and diverse life of exchanges, others exist for the Atlas, and not the least ones, whose archaism and apparent absurdity belie this fine division of labor. For example, the onerous cultivations of barley on benches, a paradox for the economist, who compares their net cost with their use value. Therefore a complementarity is far from taking account of all aspects. Notably two which express another, truly Maghrebi fact: the contrast between a quasi-insular life of the cantons and an intense and relatively well-equipped economic circulation.

6/9 It is true that tradition joins to the montagnard entity a piedmont entity: this band of the Dir, which in the zone that concerns us, Mez'ud'a, Dwiran, Seksawa, Nfifa, and -- perhaps improperly -- Mtugga, prevails immediately at the North base of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir"
[443] (Diyyāra). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients
619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is
438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than
439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which
464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sous,
166 the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual
167 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

•/121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible
619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to
174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

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[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

/104 cont./

174 Other grounds could formerly have constituted the perimeter
648 of tillage of the Seksawa. One knows the fragility of philological
221 hypotheses. /105/ It is not on belief in the doublet of Seksawa-
Chichaoua, if it is one, that we could ever base ourselves. But it
is not very probable that at the time of the Seksawa expansion this
powerful population did not project toward the plain the same
spreadings, if I may venture to say it, of agricultural life as their
more modest neighbors, like the Dwiran or Mez'ud'a, do today.
The harsh history of the Chichaoua plain, its Makhzen /makhzan/
status, which took all spontaneity away from the movements of
populations and even occasionally led to transfers en masse, like
that of the Idaw Blal or the Ud Bessebā^c, will prevent ever coming
to a conclusion on that. But one is struck by the unity of the sys-
[312] tem of irrigation between downstream and upstream. It is the
water of the Seksawa that, conveyed by four séguias, carries an
uncertain fertility into about all of the first third of the plain.
Chichaoua and its valley have remained integrally Berbère /Ber-
ber/. Still today, numerous Mez'ud'a possess land there and
make the plains habitat and the mountain habitat alternate. More
to the E., in Frûga, the saint of the Seksawa enjoyed a water
right up until a late date: a hagiological indication that is not
without interest. Let us mention only for memory the transhu-
mance, a phenomenon that goes beyond the landed-property
right, but which after all is practiced in Ud Bessebā^c for the
profit of the Seksawa, unilaterally and without this one-way
service being understood today. Finally, the abundance of the
agadir-s in the toponymy of the a. Ābdella, on the mountainous
threshold that the river must cross in order to empty on the plain,
agrees curiously with the existence and fairly recent activity of
agadir-s that can be spotted on the same band of the Dir, in
Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, where their function is clear.

174 All that is little for proof. But the ensemble of presumptions
221 is sufficient to evoke a former state of things when the plain-
121 mountain relation, in the case of the Seksawa, correlatively

/105 cont./
174 matched an affluence in piedmont lands (1).

221
121 1. It is the sāh'a of the Seksawa, of which Ibn Khaldūn speaks. Cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 382.

When did this affluence disappear? The hypothesis that comes to mind, as one has seen, is that of the anti-Mérinide rebellion of the fourteenth century and of the construction of the fortress of al-Qāhira, intended precisely to block the montagnard chefferie by cutting it off -- and it was ever thus -- from its sāh'a, that is to say, from its clearances. As experts, the masters from Marrakech inflicted on the system a definitive breakdown. They abolished for it one of the terms of this seasonal plain-mountain alternation, of this South-North vibration, which formed the life of the times.

Solidarities for the Water

241 The great problem of montagnard horticulture is of a mechanical nature. It is to counteract the blind force of the slope and /106/ to draw life from it. How? A physicist would say: by a tangential diversion tending to the horizontal. From this abstract law can be taken two kinds of complementary techniques. The one of the soil, which breaks the declivity into tiers, often
241 dearly constituted. The other one of the streaming waters, which
312 exploits their spontaneous movement in order to spread it in a plane surface either by channels or by direct spreading. These hyraulics tend to substitute for an unutilizable flow, springing from the violence of unexpected water, a calculated module in order to saturate the land to its limit of absorption as much as possible. That is to say that it sets vast distances to work. First, those that the impluvium covers. Then those that the channel crosses to reach the point of utilization. Thus irrigation is a great consumer of space. If it inspires one of the most skillful, most coherent forms of the mountain life, the fact is that it requires the solution of the greatest difficulties of a political, technical, and social order.

/119 cont./

133 634 fluvial basin into secondary units, the cantons, thus corresponds to both a logical classification and to a physical division of landscape (1).

[171] 1. Similarly, in the Pyrenees, the political state is formed, down to its subdivisions, "vicq," "locq," "cuart," "voisinages," by the relation between plain and mountain and the articulations of the relief (M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées, 1922, p. 73 sq., and, for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 263 sq.).

Whence the profound insularity of the taqbilt, sunk into its hollow in the rocks and having only its torrent as vivifying artery to link it to the main valley and, from there, to the outside world.

184 But is this isolation a basic given, or a result? Does its picturesque reality not hide the fundamental relations that unite it with other parts of the system? The history of the Seksawa went toward a reply on that, which the present facts confirm. What is essential in this life is precisely that it surpasses any cantonal fragmentation. The attraction of the plain, the circulation of the channelized water, the movement of the flocks are only three signs, images of exchanges that link men and places beyond the narrow barriers.

121 619 634 One is thus led anew to the hypothesis according to which the Seksawa would today be only a mutilated system. Their present division into valley sections would only correspond to secondary necessities. The correspondences between high and low country that their Mez'ud'a and Dwiran neighbors have been able to maintain in their political and landed-property structure result doubtlessly from better preservation. Or rather, the present cutting-up of the Seksawa and their elimination from the plain,

/119 cont./

● 121 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the
619 event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring
634 groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase
of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their live-
619 stock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-
133 mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation.
[571] Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of
[137] the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean re-
minder. *Vox clamantis in deserto*: at the foot of the chain, here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look.

174 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in
648 this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs,
have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) ...

1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, *op. laud.*, p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/125 cont./

133 241 the beds of torrents, cut by progressive edges, the vast grassy epaulement terraces, answered by the acuity of the axial chain: each of these tiers inspires a new figure of the field, of the agriculture, of the law, and of the customs.

But to this world of horizontality thus contrived by nature in the bosom of the mountains is opposed another where the vertical, the oblique, the overhang prevail. It is that of the irrigated ground, constructed by man. It is all in redans, circumvallations. Walls and terraces, scaling the slope, superimpose their small, careful planes. The ensemble contrasts by color, character, toponymic density, and human presence with what surrounds it. There is the major type of this economy and also of this history. The irrigated ground is not only a material substrate. It is a social symbol (1).

● [121) 1. In the exact sense defined for this term by G. Gurvitch, La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, p. 74.

241 Let us observe the ensemble called Bukhemsin, where each group of the a. Lh'sen has its share. It is spread out on the left bank, between Awinas and Buteghradin, at mid-flank of the ascent, and is made up of two planes, which the path cuts diagonally. We are in March. A luxurious vegetation of barley is already starting to form ears. No break in the mass. Only by sweeping light do some differences in level appear there, depending upon the amount of manure that the different owners have supplied. It is with difficulty if an expert eye distinguishes in a quarter so homogeneous the 150 parcels that compose it. Such a distinction, to one who has no preconceived idea of it, proves impossible. It is at the very base of the barley stalks, and [131] [423] completely hidden by the sprouting, that /126/ ideal boundaries creep: abstract lines, of which only the angles are indicated by a modest stone driven into the earth, awuttu, plur. iwutta.

/129 cont./

114 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far
241 from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.

789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists,
are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the
[782] opening of the tillage at Bwabbût' generally practiced, or does
it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That
is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not
say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

/130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes
[776] the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest,
in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions
by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is
[778] captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of
bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific
[787] ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language,
one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

114 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in
121 which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for
789

/130 cont./

114 example, it must be confessed that an analysis preoccupied above
121 all with morphology, like ours, quite systematically omits the
789 "magic" aspect of Maghrebi affairs. But, on the one hand, the
acceptation of Laoust is much broader, and means all at the same time magic in the strict sense, religion, and folklore. On the other hand, if many of the facts that it embraces are only guilty of having been interpreted without a statistical context, they nonetheless exist. That is already a great deal. Would to God that the collection had been increased since Westermarck and E. Laoust with the same élan that animated these great explorers! Subsequent developments that will be devoted to the religious and juridical structures of the Seksawa will close up these distinctions. But here and now, and although, once again, the discussion of the Frazer thesis applied to Maghrebi phenomena is not our purpose, it is necessary to dispose of it, as evocative (or creative) of a partial, but incontestable verity of atmosphere, as it assuredly merits in any description of rural life.

805 In all of North Africa, the "tasks and the days" are ordered
171 according to a double division of the year into months of the
Julian calendar, with curiously Latin names, and into "mansions," *manâzil*, of thirteen days each, based on astrology (1).

1. This is in any case an extremely ancient genre in the Mussulman Occident. Cf. H.-P.-J. Renaud, *Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâ de Marrakech (1256-1321)*, 1948, moreover on a Cordova prototype and, it seems, without reference /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the Maghreb. Cf. also Joly, *Arch. mar.*, III, 1905, pp. 300 sq. Léon, *Description de l'Afrique*, Schefer, t. I, pp. 112 sq.

The generality of this belief in the *manâzil* is attested by the fact that a small treatise devoted to them by a man of letters from Marrakech, Ibn Al-Muwaqqit, *Natîjat al-ᶜumr*,

/134 cont./

Division of the Agrarian Functions

• 121 In the matter of descriptive ethnology, let us be suspicious of the present narrative saying in French: "les ait X font ceci ou cela" /the ait X do this or that/. And let us be suspicious above all if it is a matter of Chleuh /Shluh/ who have, in order to respond to this kind of question, the well-known "habitude mode," used to render the repetition or the intensity of the verbal idea, but, let us be /135/ sure, without the least preoccupation with statistical control (1).

> 1. This error in shading appeared at the time of the translation of the first Moroccan texts assembled by S. A. Boulifa and has become a law of the genre.

Where the informant thinks: "there are people who ...," the ethnologist records a general rule, to the delight of the interpreters at second hand. And nevertheless it is of very great importance whether the practice is the act of the ensemble or indeed of the majority of the group, or only of a qualified specialist or indeed of an aberrant one.

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796
[121] It is this sort of verification that we have devoted ourselves to concerning a question already dealt with by the authors (2):

> 2. Pointed out for the first time, it seems, in what concerns Morocco, by E. Laoust, Mots et Choses /Words and Things/, p. 313. For the general "ambiance," cf. also E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, t. II, Ch. XVI.

that of the agrarian initium, itself sometimes but not always linked to that of favorable or unfavorable days and of seasonal rites. Interesting differences between families reveal themselves, and it is thus of great interest to know up to what point of generality this practice is observed in Seksawa. It has not kept there,

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241 9. Ibuban:

796 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation: ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

619 Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest
634 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj
[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest:
[783] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Âbdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

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796 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

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● 121 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly
241 illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here.
796 Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation,
in a way, for a specialized study.

241 The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group
796 activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established
613 in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a.
634 Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of
[184] the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner.
The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the components of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation appears between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity.
[184] To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow particularizations, on the scale of the hamlet, for example, lmud'a, acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent evolutions?

241 /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice
796 of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally,
613 the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition. Never-
[554] theless the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in Idma, of the a. Bumellut' in Ibuban shows that this choice has nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered populations. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have become inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

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796 241 184 functional divisions that they evoke here and there. Today, in themselves, they are no more than a heteroclite mass of facts breaking out of context. What remains of them is precisely the unequal distribution that they express between groups, or, within the group, between ikhs-s. Their extreme erosion, often reaching -- but not always -- the stage of folklore, often also preserving some ritual emphasis, discourages a general interpretation. At the very least, these inequalities, in their constancy or effacement, their generality or rarity, let two things be glimpsed under them. First, a plurality of persons. And, on the other hand, among these persons, certain relations observed better and better /140/ as one penetrates into the montagnard privacy. These relations, finally, are perhaps the vestige of old links between the structure of the groups, the agrarian life, and a magico-religious division of labor between the collective subjects. But the vestige is being effaced under the reconstructions.

241 121 Here one arrives at a very important idea -- as will be seen -- for the rest of this study. A complete enumeration has been necessary to establish it. Will it be necessary to make the present chapter heavy by other monographs? Permit us to refer to the publications where we have treated the two subjects whose development should logically come at this place.

First we have shown (1) to what point the dry agriculture of the Seksawa contrasts with their irrigated horticulture, by the connections that it preserves with the spontaneous flora. Alimentation has not been completely separated from gathering. The profusion of edible plants, revealing man's efforts at appropriation in the natural milieu, contrasts with the monotony of the cultivated varieties. The latter have been subject to the influence of history. In particular, it is probable that maize, from the sixteenth century, has been substituted for millet as sole of spring; it has made this old African crop, bound up with the use of the hoe, retreat. On the

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1. "Un glossaire notarial...," R. afr., 1950.

/140 cont./
241 other hand, one ascertains a curious inversion of the characters of
121 cereal cultivation and market gardening. While barley is intensively treated by being irrigated, the turnip competes with the maize in the rotation. If the village peasant really does not have a vegetable garden, he is familiar with only, if one can say it, "large-scale crops" on a reduced model. Such a study was necessary for an understanding of this society. For the plant life surrounds the life of the man and of the citizen. What exchanges between the one and the other of these two realms! It is impossible to assign, in this botanical milieu, defended by the solitude or the altitude, a part that might remain completely screened from the stamp of the "son of Adam." Despite the careful demarcations that operate the technique, the ethics and history, nature and society interpenetrate each other.

43 But the work of the group is not expressed solely in these re-
121 lations. Others, more mediate, more abstract, appear (2). The principal one is the one that the movement of money expresses. This society has been monetarized profoundly and anciently. The exportation of almonds and other mountain products is attested to /141/ for at least two centuries. It has undoubtedly balanced the alimentary deficit of the Haut Atlas, its dependence on the plain, by the importation of money. But this undoubtedly provoked a paradoxical inflation which exacerbated, in this milieu already so inclined to mercantile debate, the social inequalities and the agility of the contractual life. A complementary economy, and, in certain respects, a rival of the peasant economy, thus came into play. The consequences of the debate between the one and the other will be grave on the structure of the groups as well as on the individual psychologies.

2. J. Berque, "Recherches sur l'histoire des échanges dans le Haut-Atlas occidental /Studies on the history of exchanges in the western High Atlas/," Ann. hist. soc., 1953, n. 3, pp. 289 sq.

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III. Compartments and Levels of a Rural System (1)

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1. This idea of compartments and levels arises from the hypothesis that the Moroccan agricultural system is not one; that there are divergences or shiftings between its different branches. It will be difficult for me to specify in this hypothesis what belongs to me or goes back to my friend J. Couleau, an agricultural engineer. As early as 1946, in fact, in a study that we wrote in collaboration, he proposed the idea that, contrary to our own peasant system, the native cultivation of cereals and raising of animals in the Moroccan plains did not originate from any synthesis, but, in sum, developed independently. This fertile idea came into my own research. I have every reason to believe that the recent analyses by J. Couleau in his work in preparation on L'agriculture indigène dans la région de Fès /Native agriculture in the region of Fez/ will return to this hypothesis in a great profusion of agronomic and social observations.

Routines Or Techniques?

241 The first glance at the Seksawa agriculture turns up many traits of advancement. The refection of the lands is being pursued there jointly with the administration of the water. A close relationship between the exhaustion of the humus by the plant and its renewal by the manurings is perceived. The latter are the object of a care maintained all the more as the practice of the submersion of the planches /Fr. planche, bed, border, land between furrows/ and a tendency toward abuse of the available module constantly dilute the soil. Experimentally, more or less manure or water visibly affects germination. All of this horticulture is to be placed under the badge of labor, of courage. It could not be

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312 114 /footnote 2 continued/ French geographer. Joaquin Costa, Colectivismo agrario en /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, Madrid, 1915, should give a large place to the community traits (pp. 532 sq.)? Independently of the tendencies of the work, the atmosphere of the institution seems to be rendered better in the Spanish descriptions.

On the plane of techniques themselves, it has missed an /159/ important problem, that of the utilization of accidental water. It seems that one would find in the Maghreb, in the conservatories such as the Atlas or the oases, the explanation of forms applicable to the whole Mediterranean basin, and notably to the single European sector where they have kept some fullness: this Spain which, in that, has shown itself to be obstinately faithful to the heritage of the Mussulman Occident.

● 121 182 In the part of Morocco studied here, is the disproportion between the social edifice and its material substrate a trait of origin or of decadence? Does this contrast between so perfect an organization (1)

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121 182 114 1. Whence the inextricable difficulty of the litigations for the division of the water in the regime of European administration. Examples abound, which will not be cited. To keep us on the scientific plane, the best description that we have found and which moreover alludes to a neighboring sector, that of the Idaw Mh'mud, is given in an unpublished work (Arch. d'Imintanout) by Lieut. Oqbani on La législation de l'eau dans les tribus d'Argana /Water legislation in the Argana tribes/: attentive observation, describing curious procedures of drawing lots, but only at the stage of the result; the author seems to have missed

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121 182 114 [171] /footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by *ikhs*. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, *L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique)* /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 182 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 184 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

241 412 184 First, by the tools. The hoe, *agelzim*, plays an increasingly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul^{c}wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 407 492 184 [462] In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts, *zzuja*, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more than one beast, /*160*/ *lferd*. Yet it is always the man who plows, and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, *zzuja*

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244 a summit, economically ruinous. As proof, the unfortunate cultivations of turnips and carrots. These roots tend toward gigantism and are as demanding of water as they are miserly in calories.

Everything happens as if the historic coil of a system formerly open to the outside had brought these populations to an agronomy without variety or invention (1).

1. On this notation of decline, J. Despois, Le Djebel Nefousa, 1935, pp. 270 sq.

That, if one wishes, is only a hypothesis. We venture it only for what it is worth. But many traits suggest it, and the attempt at critical judgment that one will bring to bear on the system will feel the effects of it.

Adaptation or Not?

● 121 The adaptation of a society to its natural milieu is "an old geographical dogma" (2).

2. A. Cholley, Géographia, October, 1951, p. 4.

Healthy, since it is progress over the too-ready disdain as well as over the suspect enthusiasms that, depending on the case, economies different from ours arouse. But also, a simplistic and distorting dogma (3).

3. All the effort of the French geographic school has been to show that the influence of the milieu should not be interpreted in terms of dry determinism and that the initiative of the social and its reaction on the physical milieu itself, as imperious as the conditions of the latter formerly appeared (cf. Vidal de La Blache, Principes de

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121 /footnote 3 continued/ géographie humaine, 1922, p. 105), are preponderant. Cf. op. cit., pp. 108 sq. That implies varieties and inequalities of level.

For the dialogue between natural milieu and human milieu does not always end in agreement. There can be discordance, mutual prejudice. All rural economy amounts to a certain type of collaboration between man and plant associations. To judge it, it is necessary to define the effects of this collaboration on each of the partners. In the most favorable case, progress of the group /172/ on one hand, increase in biogeographical potential on the other mark the success of the type; mediocrity or retreat of the former, decline of the latter express, on the contrary, failure. But things are rarely so contrasted. Generally, an equilibrium more or less fertile, more or less ruinous, is established between the two terms.

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But here we are in the Old World, bordering the oldest classical history, of which our Maghrebis are the frontiersmen. They are late with a revolution, the industrial revolution. But neither do their techniques present any radical difference from those of the Mediterranean montagnards, the Andorrans, for example (1).

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1. We choose this example not only as a case "of montagnard analogy," but also because the careful studies of Brutails, which we cite from time to time, permit comparison up to the matter of custom.

In the Roussillon Middle Ages the kitchen garden exists. But sometimes the gardens are all grouped in one quarter called horta (J.-A. Brutails, Etude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Study of the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, p. 20). Cf. ibid., pp. 17 sq., the former preponderance of barley (with rye and millet, as here) in

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182 171 • 121 114 /footnote 1 continued/ victual cultivation. Other "archaic" Mediterranean traits might interest one in a comparison with our milieu: M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées méditerranéennes, the insufficience of hoed crops, being reduced to the bean in Ampurdan (p. 240), certain inadaptations (p. 205), etc.

To come back to North Africa, it is necessary to note a great difference between the formula of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ and that of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. The Kabyle has a kitchen garden: these thimizar, "close by the habitations" (Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles, 1872 ed., t. I, p. 414, and also p. 422, where an interesting distinction from the "irrigated vegetable gardens," placed very far from the village, is introduced). Is the term tamazirt to be compared with "manure," amazir, and should it be translated strictly as "land likely to be manured"? This is what would be conveyed by the Arabic translation that the jurists of the Sous give for it, because of a pedantic pun, one might say: ad-dimna. However that may be, E. Laoust observes, Siwa, 1932, p. 274, that in the general sense of "country" the Berbère /Berber/ world is divided into two zones: tamart for the eastern and Zénète dialects of the N., tamazirt for the Çanhâja and Maçmûda.

182 121 [171] nor does the profusion of rites lock them into a material inertia, like certain black peoples. Then on what bases is one to judge their system? (2).

2. A consultation with the best agronomists convinces us that up to now this question has never been the object of theoretical developments, at least for North Africa. On a general plane, cf.

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182 /footnote 2 continued/ E. de Martonne, Traité
121 de géographie physique /Treatise on physical geography/, t. III, 5th ed., 1932, Biogeography, pp. 1245 sq., and especially M. Cépède, Du prix de revient au produit net en agriculture /From the cost price to the net product in agriculture/, 1946, pp. 347 sq. "How to judge a system of cultivation?" The equation proposed evidently does not take into account the values attached subjectively by the milieu to such and such production. The phytosociological notion of climax thus has some vigorous moral components.

One will be reduced to comparing them with the data established by the observation of a single sector; their hierarchy in the native system itself will offer the least uncertain criteria. In the Maghrebi studies an abstraction of the interpretations and /173/ elaborations of the Maghrebi man has too often been made. It will have been a constant theme of our research to restore them
233 to their true place. And here they offer us a precious value judgment: their preference for livestock breeding.

These ancient sedentary ones, these patient villagers are above all shepherds (1).

[171] 1. In another montagnard milieu, although completely different, the French Alps, livestock has been "the very principle of Alpine life" (Arbos, cited by R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 50). Pastoral alternations have formed the oldest basis of the habitat (ibid., p. 90). Cf. in this sense J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 13 sq.

[433] The flock clothes, nourishes, heats the house, and, with its manure, remakes the soils. It occupies the major position in all this

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233 241 182 Primacy of livestock breeding, arboriculture of gathering, irrigation that is a collection and administration rather than a hydraulic one: the important fact is the hierarchy according to which the system is conceived. It is remarkable that these archaic peasant societies, the most authentically sedentary of all the Maghreb, the most obstinately stuck to the soil, and in which we sometimes seek the vestige of what in other epochs could have been a rural life more widely master of the North African plains, are concerned above all with the flock and its periodic rhythms. This creator of soils, this subtle administrator of water, is a routine irrigator, mediocre cereal-cultivator, evasive arboriculturalist, an even worse market-gardener. By a kind of paradox, his technicality, which asserts itself fully in the difficult problems of the constitution of the soil and the distribution of the water, slackens in putting to work the resources thus released. It asserts itself, one might say, in inverse proportion to a logic of adding value.

● 121 171 [233] Can one try to explain this pastoral primacy? It is known that, lost in the darkness of time, even in the Europe of the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/, it is a phenomenon of this sort that would provide the explanation for rural structures still characteristic. In the case with which we /175/ are concerned is it then simple prehistoric survival? Such an explanation poses more problems than it resolves. We shall not stop there. Similarly, would the problem be advanced by invoking the existence of a montagnard character, to relate it to traits of the same genre observable in the Alps and Pyrenees? In this case, it is no longer by an excess of hypothesis, but by too much modesty that the answer would be deficient. An explanation more appropriate for the milieu studied would attribute the contrasts of this peasantry to its hesitation between Mediterranean traits, preserved by the altitude, and African desert influences which press in on it from all sides (1).

1. Another "Berbère" /Berber/ montagnard milieu, that of the Ahaggar, likewise

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/footnote 1 continued/ accumulates Mediterranean traits at high altitudes, and frankly tropical traits lower. This dissociation of the plant milieu obviously implies a difficult and divided economy, and postulates the historical event.

Although the effort of the men has constantly conspired with the first of the two terms, the second is revealed perhaps by some of the traits that surprise the observer. As one sees, we are excluding, as even more hypothetical, the objections that the agronomy of the manuals might inspire. There is nothing more arbitrary -- or premature -- than to try to evaluate, in a milieu as little deciphered by modern experimentation, the yield of 243 such-and-such a practice. The so-striking paradox of these lands sown with barley or maize in irrigated tiers -- a cereal cultivation in flower pots -- is doubtlessly explained by history. It is a trait of geographical repression. And, besides, barley is the least demanding of the large-scale cereals, not only in module of water, but in the annual distribution of this module. Its choice, supposing it deliberate, would have nothing irrational in it. [242] Barley has the shortest cycle, which agrees very well with the necessity, imposed by the lack of space, to force two campaigns into one on the same soil. Finally, the deficit in barley, that is, in "bread," is the fright that everyone tries to avert more or less, without ever [182] succeeding completely. The love of cereals is thus not only alimentary foresight. It is also a social precaution, tool of equality.

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Unfortunately, the vulnerability of the native equilibrium is great (2).

2. The modern balance of a region like that of the French Alps is the combined resultant of a better opening to exchanges, hence elimination of the archaic primacy of cereals, of a reciprocal arrangement of agriculture and livestock

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114 616 themselves -- all that is suddenly lighted up by a symmetry: the confrontation of two permanent principles, two "leagues," if one wishes, on the chessboard of the cantons.

This is not the place to do the history of a hypothesis: having burst forth one day from long observations, formulated to the surprised informants, they confirm it, recognize it. It instigates a rich scientific exploration. Then, popularized by its very success in the milieus of researchers and administrators, it comes back to the native after twenty years at every contact made by a new bureau chief. Henceforth, it determines experience and action to a certain extent, and acts subtly on reality.

114 [127] It was one day on the plateau of the Mzawt, overlooking Lalla Aziza on one side, Ammern on the other, that a symmetry seemed to me to emerge from a great mass of landed-property data collected here and there, as much by deliberate inquiry on the terrain as by the chance of litigations and analyses of old documents. Most of these data were from the Seksawa country. I shall apply myself to verifying them by observation of the /219/ zones which were also directly accessible to me, such as Demsira, Mtugga, Mez'ud'a, Nfifa.

• 121 The point of departure was the authentication of a concordance (1) /

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1. This hypothesis has been advanced by us, with more or less development, in several articles: "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," 1948, R. afr., 1948; review in the Bulletin de l'Association des Géographes français, 1950, of a communication of June 3, 1950, "Structure agraire des groupes chleuhs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Agrarian structure of the Shluh groups of the western High Atlas/"; "Un glossaire notarial /A notarial glossary/." R. afr., 1950;

[Demsira]

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/footnote 1 continued/ "Terroirs et Seigneurs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Grounds and Lords of the western High Atlas/," Ann. Hist. soc., 1951, pp. 474 sq.

among three orders of phenomena: the distribution of the group into ikhs-s, that of the ground into toponymical quarters, and that of time into turns for water. Thereupon a new collection of notes, more extensive in the field of observation, but naturally less profound and less co-ordinated, will come to be added to those that the monographic investigation of Seksawa grounds suggests.

Exterior Cross-Checkings: Demsira (2)

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2. May we be permitted to excuse ourselves here, once and for all, for the abundance of anthroponymic and toponymic nomenclatures in a study that does not present linguistic character. It is that their analysis is necessary for that of the structures, of which it is the most visible clue. On the interest of studies of Berbère /Berber/ toponymy and anthroponymy, cf. E. Laoust, Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut-Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/, which aims at our very milieu, 1942; A. Basset, "Note sur la graphie des toponymes /Note on the writing of the toponyms/," Travaux de l'Institut des Recherches sahariennes, 1942, pp. 177 sq., where a simple phonetic alphabet is proposed, fairly similar to the one that has been adopted here; on the Berbère toponymy, and especially on the Chaouia toponymy of the Ait Frah, Onomastica, 1948, p. 123; and especially, "Pour une collecte

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/footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For a collection of proper names/, " Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/, " Actes et Mémoires du III^e^ Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

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/The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an important path of invasion and passage, agharas ugellid, has suffered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Chaib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

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This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

[Mtugga]

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423 Although all sorts of mutations have affected the parts thus
revived, the collective qualification muchū^c is still applied to
the whole. On the other hand, and very significantly, although
[613] the first appropriation passes for having been done "by seizure,"*
most of the ikhs-s of the Intamlin are still represented at Zahr
ou T'amer.

Same symmetry in the vast "collectives" constituting confines between Mtugga and Nfifa.

4) At the place called Adder, present site of the Wednesday
[443] market, and which seems to have formerly been more amply irrigated by the source /223/ of Sídi bu Brahim, is observed a
veritable potpourri of owners belonging to diverse Mtugga subdivisions, some of them very far away. Thus, analysis of the
[619] lands reveals there Idaw Merzug, Reh'h'âla, Idaw Talilt, and
[634] even some allogeneous Idaw Ziki and Mentaga.

[539] Tradition applies the following saying to Adder: Adder:
taryalt umzil: amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit, "it is the blacksmith's basket, no matter what nail you want, you find it there."
Only a more profound analysis could say if that is pure coincidence or an accidental aggregate, resulting from external causes
like the existence of a thermal saint, or traces of systematic
distribution.

619 The genre of the Mtugga tribe is quite peculiar, as much
from the fact of its size as from the simultaneous play whose
spectacle it offers between a very resistant customary archaism
[121] and the latifundian expansion of the "great families." It would
be perilous to pursue these analogies in depth in a purely comparative account, the goal of which is not to study their tribal
[671] contexture. May it suffice for us to have noted that, despite such
peculiarity, many emergences of the montagnard law can be revealed. Those that have been noted here are far from being the
only ones.

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171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.
423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[805] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
[312] ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into
[592] ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserv-
ing a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails
among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.
182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[671] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than
[421]

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each *ikhs* putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-
switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural
time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in
agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding
for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent
system.

What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The
[829] user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous
gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with
his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is
seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition
of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities.
But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

121 The first explanation that would come to mind is that of
(191) these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically
far apart, end in the *open field* /the words in italics are in
English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
619 North, the *muchā^{c}* of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of
the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the *taqbilt* is not in any way an
enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed
and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of
[613] a /227/ family stock. If, within the *ikhs*, the attachment of the
different "foyers," *takatin*, to one another is genealogical and
[592] amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for
the attachment of the *ikhs*-s between themselves within the group:
their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely,
is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in
divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain
itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth,
it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these
[423] societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

/227 cont./

121 [423) about the type of appropriation of land that, in the majority of the examples known, corresponds to the tree and water techniques: that is, the privative form. Such a singularity should not be set aside a priori, any more than a likewise persistent reminder of primitive communitarian modalities. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the willing climate of this life, the effort, systematic and localizable at a certain moment in the past, which the construction of the grounds often expresses, one also evokes [613) conscious divisions among subjects of law. The occupation and improvement of the soil conquered or created at all points over the wasteland, the forest, the slope have been able to bring as a corollary their balanced distribution among participants: these subgroups, called ikhs-s, and which would be united among themselves by connections of a type complicated in a manner other than consanguinity. It is also possible that this plural equilibrium expresses a readjustment of the group, its reaction against an external threat or internal decadence.

Order of work or social reform, this type of division is presented to us at a recent epoch. It reflects a spirit at the same time ratiocinating and communitarian, altruistic and responsible, of which this inquiry will observe the constant manifestation. Thus it is that the Idma, having recovered their Tasselli territory from the a. H'adduyws, redistributed it. At Tabratjut, the old [691) order was re-established, but not without alterations, at the close of a litigation with wild perturbations. Other examples might be cited. They abound in the daily jurisprudence of the jemâa-s.

What we have called "the parcellary orchestration" could thus arise from a stage of origin or more modern arrangements. Ethnological hypothesis or historical hypothesis: let us not choose between the two for the moment.

The Coefficient of Breadth

103 The humanity of the high valleys invests in its tiny domain enormous expenditures of energy: work, organization, and also denominations. Because the concentration of the toponymy there

103 /228/ expresses exactly that of the other works. It is even the easiest indication to grasp. The density of the names designates that of the communal life. In such villages we follow it indeed beyond the cadre, still restricted, of the quarter. There is nothing that says that elsewhere or in other times it could not be followed even further: down to the smallest parcel. This ground is thus like a body where each atom would assume, besides its function, a name. What levity of matter in all that!

423 The essential notion of quarter escapes almost any topographical definition. In the irrigated at least, where the quarter is not a piece of landscape identifiable by natural accidents. In order to answer to this definition it needs large epaulement terraces where dry crops and pastures spread out. Certainly, even in the irrigated, it has an area approximately measurable, varying with the grounds. Whoever says area should say limits, readable for the naked eye. Often, in fact, the quarter corresponds to a physiognomy. Now its minuscule individuality results from traits such as the strength of the crops, the hue of the vegetation, the assemblage of the parcels, which one feels instinctively, but which, let us be careful, proceed from this individuality rather than determine it.

423
312 It is possible that the progress of the analysis will succeed in giving an account of the more or less large number of quarters, that is, in the case in point, of sluices echeloned along the ditch, by the echeloned working of the irrigations. Or that roughly the division of the ground yields, as in the case of the parcel-strips of the open field, to a concern to equalize the parts qualitatively. The embanked relief would have made an irregular checkerboard preferable to a geometry of long rectangles. But none of these explanations by topography, technique, or distributive equity succeeds in completely accounting for the notion. What is incontestable is the disproportion that thus asserts itself within the ground between such a profusion of appellations and such a poverty of mass.

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423
[103] This contrast is certainly general, and characteristic of the milieu. But the density of the names, itself announcer of the social density, is it the same everywhere? Even though this might touch upon a matter that has hardly been explored in North Africa,

/228 cont./

121 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons,
423 one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the
[178] young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war, a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to
184 put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that
243 two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule
[312] that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water,
and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of
[181] the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous
[613] implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For
[492] this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport,
the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/231 cont./

829 which has gathered on an exiguous land a humanity with solid virtues, with no less solid appetites. But other considerations can come into play. For example, the sentimental hierarchy which puts in the first rank the ensemble constituted by the village and its irrigations. This ensemble is instinctively considered as the replica of the group itself, linked to it by strict correspondences, verifiable on the echelon of the individual, and inspired by a distributive ethic.

423 From this angle, the parcellary orchestration would appear as a law of equalization of chances, with a view to the use of the water or of the soil. It would be the rectification imposed by man on the precariousness of the milieu. The infinite parceling-out of the lands and their distribution by grounds reflect in certain respects a tendency to put each member of the collectivity in possession of similar means. Also this division of the risks increases as the value attributed to the soil is diversified, individualized, fractioned into units almost personal -- or possessing at the very least a personality, that of the name.

171 As linked as it may be to montagnard impoverishment, such comportment is not without analogy in the rest of the Maghreb. The intense vitality of the agricultural association has been justly defined as a means of struggling against the hazards of the milieu (1).

1. That is a central motif of the thesis of L. Milliot, L'association agricole chez les Musulmans du Maghreb /Agricultural association among the Mussulmans of the Maghreb/, 1911.

[613] [571] [219] 121 171 Thus the equalization of the chances is sought, not as here, in an internal equilibrium among ikhs-s, but in economic solidarity among individuals. Not in the statutory relations among subgroups in the taqbilt, but in the multiplication of contractual bonds. Beneath these differences of form disguising a similitude of objective, doubtlessly opens a fruitful path of comparison between North African societies.

/231 cont./

121 between North African societies. This explanation of collective psychology is worth what it is worth: precisely quite little undoubtedly, as explanation. But it is not negligible for the interpretation of the /232/ facts by their sentimental context. It is certainly indispensable today as commentary of traits from observation, such as the acuity of the landed-property litigation and the depth of the working of the mechanisms of patrimonial equilibrium. Finally, it might react on a theory of value, peculiar to the milieu, if ever our knowledge of North Africa included such research on it ...

"The Earth and Human Evolution"

Here let us stop the analysis of these economic structures. Besides one could not further develop the significance or draw conclusions from it without presuming too much from the rest of the inquiry. Whatever rules, whatever comportments correspond to this rural order, this is what the study of the religious and juridical institutions that it supports will extricate.

182 But here and now one thing is to be emphasized, because it relates to the peculiarity of the milieu or at least is expressed there with a force still intact: this is the precision of the relations between the group and the landscape. A historic constancy unequaled in the rest of the rural Maghreb, the richness of the toponymy and its agrarian correspondences augment the methodological import of such evidence. It is in fact not only the exchanges between this man and his ground that these relations govern, but a good part of the very ethics of this society. Their force of instigation, of inspiration, and, at the same time, of restraint is such that they not only tolerate individual or collective initiative, but demand it. In fact this is what maintains, over a space thus organized, the circulation of beings, rights, and things. Gradually, the economic life, because it obeys these correlations, appears as a factor of topographical animation. The more so because it was under this aspect -- displacement of the herds, lines of irrigation, rhythms of concentration and expansion, divisibility of the country -- that it first struck us.

/232 cont./

121 A taqbilt is dislodged by war. Its legitimacy remains attached to the soil, and the conquerors must buy it from it dearly, if they can. The poor cousin flees. Eliminated not so much by the vice as by the indefensible perfection of the milieu, he leaves the shell that he was filling. It will not remain empty to wait until he returns: another soon slips into it, expansive kinsman, buyer, usurper -- three ideas which often interfere. A temporary right that the emigrant will try to abolish upon his return, but not without difficulty and combat, will prevail during the time of his absence.

/233/ Certainly human activity is not completely reduced to the exercise of these laws. If the immense part of itself that it devotes to the treatment of the milieu reveals, in this region of the Atlas, the rural order, the observation of which the Seksawa have allowed us, this part is not the only one. Spiritual progress, military adventure, individual avarice assume a function of compensation, liberation, or of game. But, even in that, life cannot lose touch with its cadre. It creates plenums and voids, thus differences of tension which will end up by being expressed in relations, in movements, and by inscribing itself anew in the space.

Here such a character is constant. It proves to be linked to the structure and to the history of these groups by correspondences more precise than have been presented to be observed up until now in North Africa. Of course, that does not authorize any simplistic determinism. But it confers upon these societies a value of authenticity, and at the same time a significance of type amply exceeding their narrowness. Perhaps the preceding analyses will have established at what point the tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and especially the Seksawa, offer an exemplary basis for the study of the bonds between "la terre et l'évolution humaine" /the earth and human evolution/ (1)

1. This is the title of the book by L. Febvre, 1922.

for the whole of the Maghreb. /Page 234 is blank./

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175 same genre. In the middle of the twentieth, the rebellion of the last independent amghar is based on thaumaturgy: he expected his salvation from squadrons of genii which were heard rustling on the Tichka (2).

2. J. Berque, "Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

That, it is the chronicle. Underneath is discerned another layer of facts.

539 776 The good saints had to exorcise the valley of its demons. An amusing legend, in which E. Dermenghem undoubtedly greeted one of the forms of the Psyche myth, is told at Ikis. Sidi Yusef u Buzid taught by day the children of men and by night those of the demons. This upset his household. His wife, curious, followed him one evening and raised herself up to the window of the mosque, the interior of which was lighted by a large fire. Scarcely had she caught a glimpse of the audience, which had a singular appearance, being made up of genii, than the latter vanished. The woman suddenly became blind and died the following day. The saint pursued his edifying life. Today his descendants, even far away in the plain, where they go each summer to hire themselves out for the harvest, are protected by him: woe unto anyone who harms them; woe unto them if they harm others. Similar legends of expulsion or edification at Tabratjut, Ad'erd'ur.

• 121 /239/ Would it be yielding to the temptation that induces every observer to show the originality of his subject were one to hold up such a body of evidence? There comes out from it, for the Seksawa, a very special coloration, and, moreover, there would be the danger, in the present state of our knowledge, of trying to define beyond measure. And as for explaining, we are still far from that. Nevertheless, a certain number of traits will restrain the analysis.

776 823 First of all, the country is a country of "old people," or "of other people," that is, of spirits, more or less personal, attached

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779 171 prototype created. And so it will be against them that both the individual and the believer will assert themselves. Hence their course, hence this desire for independence and adventure, and in any case a freshness and a liberty which will confer on their faith a very special nuance. It is this that gives the Berbère /Berber/, as magician, as saint, or confrere of minor order, surprising dispositions, well known, for good or evil, from the Orient itself. The man of the Atlas, and by extension the Maghrebi, becomes the individual par excellence, from the time that he seeks to break away from his cadre.

779 To the people of the Atlas, Islam appears, in certain respects, as an urbanism of cadis, bazaars, hebdomadal sermon, elegance, commercial liberalism, good eating and good talk, but also of pashas and makhzanian jails. And all that is found in Marrakech /Marrekesh/ and Taroudant, non licet omnibus... That is what will confer, by contrast, well-defined traits to the faith of the montagnard shepherd and woodcutter. Their reaction, once escaped from the "rural system," will, of course, be purism. And there will enter a part of what we would call, quite horribly, a class complex. From the confreric adherence to so mixed a content will then escape from time to time the unitary intellectual, breaking off from both the city of the mountains and the city of the plains. In sum, and on the plane of faith, will be discerned, from the base to the summit, the ardent, uncultivated, and savage crowd of villagers, the fanatic adept of the sheik, the purified devotee, and, at the very top in the peaks, these provisional revolutionaries who are the saint and the reformer. For the moment, the variety of the scale stops there.

General Order of This Research

771 Thus, at the level (1)

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[121] [114] 1. For this idea of successive "niveaux" /levels/ of social reality to which we shall

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/footnote 1 continued/ constantly appeal in this investigation, we owe a great deal /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the ideas of G. Gurvitch, Eléments de sociologie juridique /Elements of juridical sociology/, 1940, pp. 167 sq., on the "étagements du droit" /stages of the law/. On the "sociologie en profondeur" /sociology in depth/, id., La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, pp. 49 sq., and the distinctions of pp. 55 sq. Taken into consideration is the psychological theory of H. Wallon, where, indeed, Maghrebi sociology can find useful inspirations. Cf. especially De l'acte à la pensée /From the act to the thought/, apropos the "signe" /sign/ and the "symbole" /symbol/, pp. 190 sq. As one will see, our own conception of the niveaux /levels/ in Maghrebi sociology does not exactly cover that of G. Gurvitch, itself appearing in evolution in his later works.

771 of the soil, and of the rustic collective life, the sacred clings so much to the rhythms of the group that it is, /248/ on certain points, indistinguishable from them. It is only through successive disconnectings that it rises toward the individualistic law, sanctity, and personal feeling, while correlatively moving away from the communitarian synthesis. The analysis will begin, therefore, with these joint forms which undoubtedly represent the most ancient foundation.

121 It would have been logical to follow it then with the study of the more and more complex levels of the religious and juridical life, while showing how the influence of a universalist system acts symmetrically upon both domains, in the sense of the individualization of belief and of the mobility of the laws. But the reality is

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121 not so simple. It will be necessary to split up the two studies, because religion and law present, in their present state, the trace of different evolutions and even of different systematizations.

/249/ II. Nonfigurative Sacred "and Prelaw" (1)

1. I have borrowed the expression of prelaw from L. Gernet, "Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne /Law and prelaw in ancient Greece/," Ann. Soc., 1948-49, pp. 21 sq.

The Sacred and the Rural Order

539 776 823 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "One day -- this was in the time of the siba -- an old black man came to us seeking refuge. We offered him shelter without otherwise asking about his origin. He was treated rather meanly. How shocked we were the next day to learn from one of our servants that he had spent the entire night in a trance! My father went to him to apologize for the poor fare. We began to fear vengeance from this unrecognized personage. But all our offers could not overcome his humility. He revealed to us that he knew all the places of the earth and proposed describing them to us. [778] From that time his saintly quality began to impress us. My father, eager to profit from his baraka, led him into our orchard, which lacked water. The old man assured us that a hitherto hidden spring would gush forth there if one dug at the place that he [675] would indicate. Still better, he offered to make a contract with us. If water were found, it would be necessary to furnish him an annual payment. In the opposite case, he put himself under the obligation to us to demand, in writing, that he be buried alive in this hole that we would have dug in vain. The contract was drawn up in good and due form, and my father set off for Marrakech to recruit workers and to buy tools. Upon his return, the

/252 cont./

541 the Tanddri; to the right and opposite, the brows that separate us from Igersafen. On a terrace, the multicolored swarm of women. [536] About ten jolly fellows did not spare themselves in gags lasting two hours: scene of the selling of almonds to a Jew; of the cow that could not be milked; of the sacrifice to the santon, with a burlesque procession; of a conjugal dispute, with the simulated death of the wife, resurrection, reconciliation; scene of jealousy; the rages of the little old man. And here is hyperbolic prayers; in Arab sonorities more or less caricatured, the Allah Akbar, in all the tones of mystic élan, of tartufery, etc. It is a veritable commedia dell'arte where one improvises. With success, if one judges by the laughter of the audience. The scene is expected to be prolonged by obscenities and unbridled fantasy. Veritable theatrical sense and extraordinary freedom of spirit. Already personalities having their characters: the birth of tragedy in the most etymological sense of the term."

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541 /253/ And undoubtedly we shall not solve the matter of knowing if there truly is seasonal magic here, or whether evolution has not for a long time degraded the meaning of the rite up to its being no more than an advance toward our own carnival (1).

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541 1. The literature, quite abundant, on the "Berbère /Berber/ carnival" has not solved the problem. Note the quasi identity of the scenes of burlesque comedy described by S. Biarnay, Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines /Notes on North African ethnography and linguistics/, 1924, pp. 79 sq., for an entirely different milieu. All that one can say is that the custom is not, even in the details, peculiar to the Atlas, any more than it is to the Berbères. As much could be said for almost all that comes out at a certain ethnographical level, more or less preserved according to the regions, but which seems to be common to all of North Africa.

[Ait H'adduyws]

/259 cont./

776 c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting
778 along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the *taqbilt* more directly into play. Thus, the *timezgida* Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight!
[162] The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into
[613] some thirty *ikhs*-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

121 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to
128 the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers
778 from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

776 Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample
778 dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'ddan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is, a
[162] total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of *timezgida*," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

779 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this *timez-*
346 *gida* remains *par excellence* the place of the life of the group,
one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can
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/281/ Developments of the Religious Life

I. Great Ritual Personifications

"A National Saint,"

Lalla Aziza

776 [533] [333] When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend, [114] and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. And the error of E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

● [121] Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

133 Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. That 778 is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, lh'rum i-yseksawan,

/310 cont./

128 At least this method of blanks and full parts, to which it is indeed necessary to resign oneself here, as in other parts of this work, has one good thing: the lack of presumption. Also it is not only honest fear and reverence before the complexity of the matter. On particular points it will venture to affirm; on others it will hesitate, which perhaps will be more instructive. Finally, on others, it will have to upset recognized ideas and open new debates. But, above all, as positive as it proves to be regarding certain results, it is of merit only through its methodological doubt concerning the ensemble.

And this ensemble is one of these domains that North African science has indeed only timidly approached, unless it treated them haughtily with disdain.

Stages of the Sacred

121 771 And here, from the very first, are two opinions that confront each other. According to the one, which an option of primitivism has devoted, not without success sometimes, to certain aspects of a society that stands out over other Maghrebi societies, more "evolved," less "pure" or simply less "curious," the magico-religious structures of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed Berbère /Berber/ world in the larger sense, dominate its law, its economy, its folklore, and even its language.

According to the other opinion, it is by an avowed profane character, a laic orientation of the institutions, and, in any case, their relative independence with regard to the religion and its marvels that such a milieu affirms its original nature.

To attempt to resolve such an opposition of tendencies through a /311/ choice or a conciliation between its two terms is, without any doubt, one of the most important interlocutory necessities of an investigation, were it limited to the Seksawa.

Now, the course of this work will perhaps have prepared us to approach the problem. It is not in a transactional eclecticism that one must, I believe, look for its solution. But with the assistance of one of the most constant laws that it has been granted

/311 cont./

121 771 us to observe here: the differentiation between functions and degrees. That is to say that the judgment and the definition must vary, according to whether it is a matter of spirituality individually attained by the elect, or of the ritual expansion which the agrarian structures manifest. Between the two, all the stages of practices, of elaboration, and even of interpretation.

771 At the level of the rural order, limited to the necessities of juridical constancy and naturist efficacy of the group, is distinguished a kind of sacred appearing only rarely in hagiology, and which is identified in good part with the most defaced movement of the community. Here one is well within individual destinies, legendary explication, and even historical relations.

776 [182] Of an entirely different level are the clienteles that link the cantons to a saint of banal type, such as the one of Ammern, or to the heroine of Z'init'. Both assume, unequally, their function of unifying symbol of the Seksawa, as well as that of protectors or avengers. In the person of Lalla Aziza, in that of Âmer u H'addo, which distance blurs, this political vocation is burnished by a precise historicity. In the ritual polarization of this type of saint resides an originality of the Seksawa, related to their so personal past.

776 175 What is undoubtedly less peculiar to them, but seems, on the contrary, a general trait, is the contrast between saints of an exclusive naturism with definite visage, indeed with a name, and historical saints. The rarity of the latter contrasts with the hegemony they exercise in the few instances where one locates them. That is undoubtedly related to a concrete evolution of the milieu. But it is not a matter of indifference that between the agrarian sacred of village rites and the spiritual primacy of a political saint, attested to by the documents, the place of the supernatural figures remains secondary, or at least statistically restrained. The almost purely social that is observed at the ground level of this religious life gives way, on the stage of the great patrons, to some historical personalities, all extremely concrete and, in some way, verifiable.

792 /313 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ labor, this role of avant-garde immediately furnishes a genealogical fiction. This links the collectivity thus marked to an ancestor saint or else to 792 121 the Prophet. This is the very type of these corporations in confraternities by reason of an ancestor for which Durkheim clearly noted the characteristics of a form of transition. It expresses the "mixture of the rising professional organization with the pre-existent familial organization" (G. Davy, Eléments de sociologie, I: Sociologie politique, 1950, p. 115). But sometimes the fiction is unnecessary: the status 792 171 is created by auto-affirmation, one might say. One thinks of the Touareg /Tuareg/ tribes described by the Cdt Cauvet and who, by their simple attestation, come to be considered as marabouts (H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, p. 163). In the Moroccan case, that of the Ud Bessebâ^c, for example, an intellectualist milieu furnishes forthwith the collective pretension of pedantic reasoning: the sherifian revendication enters the category of the pseudo-historical classifications that have played such an important role in the Maghrebi past.

792 Pretty much as the corporation of rural or urban artisans constitutes in the economic life an intermediate stage between the tribal qualification and the profession.

Let us study a concrete case, that of the a. Wammern, descendants of sidi Mh'and.

[534] Their moqaddem joins to his hagiological functions and to his knowledge of some impressive tricks (playing dead, for

/325 cont./

175 69 grindstones, manâhil (transhumance shelters), inanimate goods, dry crops, and all other claims of the one upon the other."

We have an example of what these verdicts may be, when the magistrate makes a point of culture, in a long writing of 1118 Heg.: 1707, where a scholar originally from the a. Ish'âq develops, in good writing with comparisons and quotations, his point of view on a habous /wakf/ lawsuit. It is a matter of a patrimony disputed among branches of devolutionaries, some of whom have died out, munqaridîn, a type of case that war and epidemics must have made frequent. The learned man acts on the authority of an indirect quotation from ar-Rasmûkî, then of a Meccan precedent, of the Fès /Fez/ jurist az-Zaqqâq, still others... Such an argument, he says, is null, nonexistent, ujûdu-hu ka'l-^{c}adam. It is like a mirage that the imagination believes to be of water, whereas if one reaches it, one no longer finds anything.

693 One appreciates this paradox of atmosphere, if one may venture to say it, which inspires in the humble montagnard jurist the poetry of the camel driver. The respect given by apparently barbarous cantons to the /326/ scholar, zaouia sheik or "cadi" is significant (1).

693 121 1. Can we go further than these observations? Does the antiquity of this procedural dualism permit evoking, across the gulf of time and distance, the division of the Roman procedure into two phases? We are far from the idea of finding again in the Atlas something that would recall the profound originality of the formula. But perhaps in the referrals to episcopal arbitration, frequent after Constantine, we can find something exciting for the imagination, if not [114] serious for comparison. The first hypothesis has already been set forth by G. Surdon,

/326 cont./

693 121 114 /footnote 1 continued/ Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain /Outlines of Moroccan Berber customary law/, 1928, p. 185, n. 1. One finds in this work very exact, but incomplete and scattered notations. For example, on the alwāh', pp. 12, 142, 179, 181; on the instinct for patrimonial preservation among the Imazighen, pp. 35 sq.; on the true character of the rahn, pp. 196 sq.; the asghurt, p. 128. We are obliged to point out these coincidences with our own observations.

69 And it is no less so that such a judge, often far from the place of litigation, cut off from any possibility of investigation, and chosen even because of that no doubt, does not base his decision on objective data at all, indeed sometimes not even on hearing the two parties. The decision is often presented in fact in the form of a letter delivered to one of the litigants, and undoubtedly solely on the evidence of his statement. One might be surprised by the fact that a rural society entrusts its most precious interests to such a whimsical magistery. But, on the one hand, [627] the great majority of the conflicts are under the jurisdiction of prelaw and hence never come to procedural argument. And, on the other hand, the latter brings into play the not negligible factors of auctoritas. First, the weight of the person, of the writing, and of the reference to the Law. Then, the recourse to an external culture and ethic, felt as such, but to which one adheres at the appointed time and place, no more, and which one has intervene when it is necessary and when one wishes. In the second phase of this procedural splitting is read one of the attitudes of Chleuh /Shluh/ comportment with respect to Arabism and external civilization in general. We shall not engage here in a discussion of social psychology, which could lead far.

695 /327 cont./

The expression s-tarad'i (1).

[192]

> 1. Maghrebi ethnology will have made real progress when it is able to follow, over the whole gamut of North African societies, the progress of such-and-such a notion, reduced to its precise meaning, in the most varied linguistic dress; and corollarially to study the semantic variations of such an institutional term. I am thinking, for example, of the word chert' or chchard', or of the word ta^{c}amamt, well known in the Kabyle matrimonial law, and which I find again in the Beni Iznasen (Renisio, p. 144), indeed even in an old text from the Sous ...

"by mutual agreement," certainly concerns the designation of the judge rather than the character of the verdict. It is true that even a judgment properly speaking, that of the present tribunals, for example, must little or much, in order to be executory, rally the yielding party. Ur rd'igh, "I do not agree": such an utterance occasionally indicates the nonrallying and hence also that the malcontent will appeal to other paths of recourse: obstruction, dilatory maneuvers, indeed violent resistance. Is it necessary to conclude that an arbitral aspect, profoundly ancient and authentic, has survived even in the modern organization of jurisdictions and that a fortiori the ancient s-tarad'i decision was merely arbitration pure and simple?... All that one can conjecture is that the development of the Chleuh /Shluh/ proceedings still implies today, and, with stronger reason, formerly implied, old mores rendering obligatory, under penalty of nullity or of loss, a "commitment" by both parties. This commitment has significantly taken a contractual form. In return, the distance at which the jemâa takes care to remain with respect to the settlement of the case screens the latter from the opinion of the group. And the reaction of the city procedures has cloaked the person of the magistrate and his

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/327 cont./
695 manner of acting in a doctoral and formal style, the very one of
● 121 an eminent justice.

Two Procedural Forces: The Writing...

212 The classic Arabic verb istaz'hara, "to produce, to manifest
691 the proofs of a law," is very often employed in the Seksawa ar-
695 chives, apropos landed-property litigations. In spite of its reassuring pedantry, I am not sure that it is not necessary to compare it with the practice that consists of reading the acts that the parties oppose on the spot of the litigation (qerri afella, "to produce against...," or factitive saghra, saqra, "to have read"). And perhaps even, at a more ancient stage, the act was purely and simply deposited upon the contested land. Hypothesis? The characteristics of efficacity not at all /328/ intellectual and mediate ("elements of proof"), but direct and concrete that the use of these titles offers naturally lead to this sort of hypothesis.

An immense red-tape flora, timidly rising from the end of the fifteenth century, already more fecund in the sixteenth century, subsequently spreads with more and more luxuriance. The Seksawa mountain is a conservatory of charters (1).

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1. Cf. Et. in. /unpublished Study/ by B. de La Forcade, "Les actes en pays de coutume /Acts in countries of custom/," CHEAM, applying especially to the region of Igherm.

It happens that these old acts themselves make mention of the days of privation that a chest or leather bottle cost scholars for those
[175] salaried on the occasion of a trial. In 1193 Heg.: 1779, the a.
[465] Març, on the occasion of litigation, inventoried their acts. Cost:
[794] 5 mûzûnas-s in salary to the fqih, who had spent four days of work
there! ... In general, the paper is thick and narrow, of heavy
212 grain, and veritable cardboard in certain cases. Difficult deci-
695 pherment, in view of the incorrectness of the language, both

/337 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ cantons that did not bring about their "synoecism." To return to concrete observations, a thorough study of the ikhs in Morocco was undertaken by R. Montagne in a series of works published in Hesp. beginning in 1924, and also Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 43 sq., 218. R. Montagne consequently will affirm the importance of the patriarchal family, for example, very recently, in Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan proletariat/, 1950, pp. 21 sq. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 1 sq., insists on the importance of the agnatic group, although he has posed the conjugal family as "elementary cell." He had already expressed this idea, especially in "L'alliance par colactation /Alliance by colactation/," II^{e} Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés savantes/, 1936.

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Let us suppose that groups, inversely to the exigencies of an individualist logic, were determined from the more to the less extensive rather than by an amplification that began with the individual. This idea of Durkheim's has a chance of being verified historically by the Berbères /Berbers/, whose present fragmentation could have been preceded by vast conjunctions. The study of the great ensembles of the medieval Maghreb, then that of the leagues of the recent past, then of the confederations, /338/ tribes, cantons, would bring to that of the agnatic family (1)

1. Cf., on the "undivided agnatic family," the ideas of G. Davy, Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui /Sociologists of yesterday and today/, 1950, 2nd edit., pp. 109 sq. The slightly

/338 cont./

121 613 594 /footnote 1 continued/ different term that we employ seems to us to correspond better to the reality described. Its definition is no less opposed, in the fashion indicated by G. Davy, to the patriarchal family.

and, in second place, of the conjugal family more and more precise foundations and a progressively lighted background.

The familial life is par excellence the meeting place for the most diverse orders of facts: magic, folklore, mode, positive right, morality, religion. The demarcation between them is
594 613 183 tenuous. Which of them to choose as the most revealing? Now, for the Seksawa it is the familial law that refers most to Mussulman ethics. It wants to recognize only the individual person and refer in everything to the norms of the fiqh. Truthfully speaking, it is a matter of a theoretical profession rather than of a real practice. An ideal result, if one wishes, but one that this society intends for itself. A point of arrival also, if one bears in mind that the constructions of the past disclose, to the extent that one can investigate them, something quite different. But when to date the change? And was there change for an appreciable period?

594 613 The first approach of our inquiry gave on that, and precisely in what concerns the mountain societies, results of a nature to inspire prudence. The habitat, the style of life, and even the food appeared to us as clearly divided on the echelon of the conjugal family. Let us then be led by the observable actuality to an initial approximation of the fleeting social reality that forms the subject of this chapter. Like the usager, one will concentrate one's attention on the conjugal family, takat, genealogically linked to the common ancestor of all the other families of the ikhs. Let us define the latter as a "differentiated agnatic family," ending in the individual — man or woman — as subject of rights.
613 The ikhs itself is suppressed in the shadows, along with the other bases of all that has not become an institution approved by the commune and subjected to the stamp of the written word. But it sometimes also crops out on the plane of the judicial dispute. On

/340 cont./

581 114 /footnote 2 continued/ on courtship (t. II, p. 205 sq.), marriage by flight (t. IV, pp. 49 sq.), marriage by exchanges of fiancées, which is the ante-Islamic chighâr (t. IV, pp. 90 sq.). E. Doutté, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, 1905, pp. 331 sq., gives a remarkable description of marriage in Reh'âmna. He cites, same page, n. 2, an exhaustive bibliography for his time and for Morocco.

which one has the good fortune to have available in the second of these two domains, is of little help here, in spite of the /341/ suggestive prospects that it opens here and there. It in fact neglects morphological analysis and in the end contributes only a collection of traits more valuable for a general comparativism than for an examination of a localized institution in its relations with the milieu. 581 121 The account below will attempt to combine, according to the dosage that reality itself offers, the point of view of the local jurist, who already codifies and elaborates, with that of the usagers who know law only by what they see and experience of it. Tendency toward normalization and emotive participation, the one individualist and rational, the other of an entirely communitarian spirit, but cropping out in the law, will equally have room in our curiosity. To the one as well as to the other, one will try to give a just part in this overly schematic account, which is resigned to neglecting the varieties between groups.

584 /The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Seksawa marriage includes several phases, the succession of which is punctuated by ceremonies.

a) the asghurt, "prenuptial stage," is a period of frequentation preliminary to cohabitation. It is of indefinite duration.

Inaugurating it are:

1) the id'ilâb, "request" solemnized by the sacrifice of an animal and
2) the agreement of the fiancée and the two families, sanctioned by a meal in common;

/344 cont./

585 675 171 [586)

/footnote 3 continued/ remarkable example: that of the Glâwa, where his *quantum* varies according to the subgroups (p. 62). In case of flight by the married woman, the rate of compensation varies, he writes, according to the tribes or the subdivision of tribes (pp. 57 sq.). The Arab jurists cite the practice of an invariable *çadâq* as tainted by Bedouinism. Cf. at-Tasûlî, *Comm. Tuh'fa* /Commentary of the Tuh'fa/, 1355 ed., t. I, p. 247, 1. 6 sq., and 27 sq., with citation of this Abû ᶜAlî whom we always find as revealer of Moroccan authenticity: *lâ yuzâdu ᶜalay-hi li-jamâli-ha wa lâ yanquçu li-qubh'*: "beauty or ugliness is of no importance," the famous cadi says, smiling a little!

is the second of the characteristics that set it opposite the *çadâq*. The amount of the /345/ latter in Arab countries is not statutory, but contractual. But has it always been the same? Here again we find, attested to by the jurists, an ancient Bedouin stage, where the practice of a *çadâq*, invariable and payable only upon the dissolution of the marriage, would have been general at a certain time, since authorities as scattered as Ibn ᶜArafa (Tunis), al-Qawrî (Fès), and cadis of Sijilmâsa are cited with respect to this (1).

1. At-Tasûlî, *Comm. de la Tuh'fa*, 1355, t. I, p. 250, 1. 4 sq.

Indications Concerning the Anterior State

675 585 586 121

In any case, the uniformity and modicity of the *amerwas*, its liaison, not at all with the consummation, but indeed with the dissolution of the marriage, lead, at least for the Chleuh /Shluh/ group, to the hypothesis that it may be a matter here of an element superposed, perhaps by way of authority, upon an

/345 cont./
675 autochthonous institution, survivals of which are to be found in
585 the asghurt and where it would as yet be only incompletely dis-
586 solved. The comparison of the institutions only ends in an im-
•121 passe there, for we are back to the historical problem of the
penetration of the fiqh in this region of Morocco.

779 To the dossier, still quite light, of this discussion, I shall
792 bring only one contribution, but precise and datable: this is a
175 text taken from the Nawâzil of the Cheikh /Sheik/ Mah'ammad
585 ibn Nâçir (d. 1674), master of a great religious brotherhood, and
675 initiator from the Moroccan South.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The Cheikh married persons who had come to rely on him. He began by questioning two among them, who were of the same tribe, on the amount of the çadâq in their country at the same time as on their matrimonial usage. After many silences, they answered him, "We are of your faith and your flock. Do what you judge good to do." "As for us," said the Cheikh, "our practice is simple. I myself once gave one of my female relatives in marriage without asking for anything more than a dish of couscous for the clerks. Such was in fact the custom of our ancestors. But I have reformed it and abandoned it in order to adhere to the sunna of the Prophet. Our present practice is one of the simplest, be it a matter of the banquet or of the çadâq. I have fixed the latter at three mithqâl-s of money by weight." He then added: "Where is the representative of the husband?" He was pointed out to him. He then requested witnesses, and when they were before him, in the presence of the representative of the woman, he declared: "Praise God. We praise Him and by Him we guide ourselves. Witness that I have married such-and-such a daughter of so-and-so and such-and-such a son of so-and-so, both from such-and-such a country, within the rights and stipulations of the woman, the sunna of the Prophet, and against legitimating çadâq (2)."

2. Mah'ammad b. Nâçir ad-Dar^{c}ī, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, l. 11 sq.

794 /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this
428 exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory,"
jrîda, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foun-
[695] dation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the
argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if
nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the coun-
try. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/
[177] practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity
inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription
[178] borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the con-
solidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

● 121 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of
794 the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be
found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons
where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that
would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recog-
nize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further
in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa
an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed
property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than
effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the
settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign"
of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different
from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not
[173] suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition,
today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the
old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes
very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced.
It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

794 One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordi-
428 nated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to
671 which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed
property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit
[562] from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoy-
[184] ing the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between
taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in
all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as
bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs
what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the
course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

/366 cont./
794 decide the litigation from a point on the whole secondary, like a
428 feint in a joust.

671 That is a new chance opened up to the adversaries of the
habous, a new possibility of play, anything but negligible in the
spirit of the system. But what accumulated risks! The landed-
[423] property procedure of the Seksawa recalls the shows in which a
player must guide his ball through a multitude of snares and traps
to a very chancy issue. This issue, in the case at hand, is the alienation of the land. And although it results from possibilities opened up by the orthodox law, which one professes /367/ to follow, and by the very form of juridical expression, one divines at what point it remains improbable, and doubtful even in success.

General View of the Familial and Landed-Property Law

121 If one now groups the most striking aspects of the system, one will realize that it is the triumph of Homo oeconomicus. Of the rite and the tool, to return to the two antithetical notions from which, for a Moroccan society moreover very different, Azemmour, the late Ch. Le Coeur drew his inspiration, it is by far the second that occupies the foreground here. One might even say the tool in the proper sense: namely, the peasant's hoe, this agelzim that sculpts the tiers, distributes the water, inscribes, in gains of a few square meters, the patient work of generations, fashions this rural landscape, which is the most made that North Africa knows. Workman's landscape...

121 But this impression is modified somewhat if one leaves the
671 domain of the law that is conscious, avowed, marked by its successoral schematism, its litigious tricks concerning goods, its ratiocinations concerning household life, in order to examine its relations with the agrarian order. At this level a ceremonial commentary, a sentimental context envelop words and gestures. Agnatic solidarity appears as one of the active bases of the life
121 of the canton. But what remains of this structure once past the
671 threshold of judiciary debate, which is also the threshold of the
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/367 cont./
121 writing? Truthfully, few things. An entire gentilitial culture
671 seems to have been jeopardized here. The writing has gone that
212 way. Writing of another language, minority, professional, tending
to be secret. It carried with it a sentimental pedantry, a doctri-
nal propaganda, and a notarial technique. It did not remain a
121 means, but became a master. The whole matter of successoral
671 law was profoundly transformed by it. Matrimonial law resisted
212 better. It in fact kept, thoroughly colored by rite, a stronger
178 originality than the former, which imperious acquisitive instincts
dominate. The intensity of emotion, moreover, was not the same
in the two domains. Paroxysm of the moment in the one, con-
tinuity in the other. Resistance had to be unequal. Festivity on
the one side, duration on the other. The notarial language, power-
less to deform the festivity, tyrannously lent itself to long peasant
perseverances. It governed the secular courses of them.

121 But on this side of the stage of expression, the communal
671 peace was strongly maintained, or re-established underneath, in
the order /368/ of irrigation, the parcellary orchestration. One
[423] thus arrives at the paradox that the land economy, controlled
above all by prelaw survivals, unconscious imperatives, but per-
haps also by deliberate initiative of the group, is expressed only
indirectly in the contentious multiplicity of the title. The es-
sential of this life: agonistic vehemence, tension with alternating
re-establishments, patrimonial continuity, sentiment of the legit-
imacy, passes through the acts rather than being expressed by them.
Juridical subterfuge, procedural stratagems, an element of surprise
and something like a certain cult of the absurd menace the con-
structions of the writing. And that indeed provokes disturbances,
arouses many scruples. But they remain in profundity. The
notarial language has covered everything. Its mysterious prestige
and its malices have beguiled both the coolness and the duplicity
of this peasant. For this peasant has found his boon there. More
and more he will find it there, as by a sort of compensation, and
to the extent that the judicial debate casts off its antique char-
acter. The reaction of the group will not always succeed in winning
out over the forces of breakup. Then it will all be over for the
montagnard institution.

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IV. Communal Law

● 121 Under this austere title, we are going to study an aspect of the "republics of the Atlas" that has already given rise to engaging descriptions (1).

1. R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes Vallées du Haut-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high Valleys of the High Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 15 sq. and especially Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 217 sq. One must turn to the same researcher for the first investigations of public archives in this part of Morocco, "Le régime juridique des tribus du S. marocain /The juridical regime of the tribes of the Moroccan South/," Hesp., 1924, pp. 313 sq., and especially R. Montagne and M. Ben Daoud, "Documents pour servir à l'étude du droit coutumier du S. marocain /Documents for use in the study of the customary law of the Moroccan South/," Hesp.": 1927, pp. 401 sq., with regard to which our debt is great.

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127 But although certain of these descriptions go far in depth, the analysis will not engage in useless repetition with them. It will be concerned moreover with the ancient state as it stands out from the local documents. The latter give an image of the public law that is disinterested because exclusive of proselytism. Here the act is only an official report. One can make use of it without distrust. Not that it does not reflect any assimilatory view. But it is without an underlying design of rallying to the orthodox Salente. Its writer is aware of the cantonal autonomy. He is the agent of it. His conceit of the scholar gives way before the preoccupations of loyalism and probably a municipal warmth, suitable for rendering the verity of ambiance. Hence the documentary value of these [666] penal tariffications, enacted after each election of chief, and which fortunately abound in the Seksawa archives, notably in those of the very high valley.

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Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits
619 of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead
634 one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is
121 above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing,
has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about
which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the
Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves.
What are the relations between the group and its agnatic
681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law,
what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the
/370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish
to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation,
then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which
the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment
and tariffed composition.

613 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient
178 state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those
of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the
commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive
individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into
irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into
economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial
primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the
penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no
longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal
power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable
cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions
and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that
592 the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'â, does not correspond
[621] to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit
[634] is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite
mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in
[613] an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the
citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

/370 cont./

592 /conjugal family/, that constitutes the basis of the distributions as of all the tumultuary or accountable manifestations essential to this life.

613 182 The role of the ikhs stands out at the very least from its present functions: primary distributor of water and, if I may venture to say it, of baraka; member of a hierarchy of qualifications reserving for such-and-such a lineage the right to undertake important actions with common value, which involve the collectivity, its soil, its past and its future. Its function exists primarily in all that the course of the group respects in the way of necessities, more or less clearly felt, in accord with natur[illegible] in connivance with the kosmos and its unwritten laws. There[illegible]e war, politics, the agrarian order, and in a certain measure holiness, justice, or poetry are a gentilitial affair. These attributes are well mixed. We do not know which among them go back to the past or result from restorations or adjustments. One of course would be tempted to consider the magico-religious functions as belonging to the oldest substratum (1).

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1. P. Huvelin, "Magie et droit individuel /Magic and individual law/." Ann. Soc., X, p. 12, shows that the repression of misdemeanors in a society dominated by familial representations /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ still remains religious in accent and commonly assumes the form of the ordeal. The mad exuberance of the sworn law in the old Maghrebi societies certainly evokes the existence of ensembles that, in this case, are agnatic ensembles. One has the explanation that, in Marcy's eyes, this aspect constituted a criterion of archaism, that is, according to him, Berbère /Berber/ authenticity. According to this view, the public law would then consist in organizing relations between

/370 cont./

613 /footnote 1 continued/ familial groups with-
182 in the political society. The fact is that the
114 oath often has this aspect. And that is so
121 true that, the group growing larger into the
695 *taqbilt*, for example, it would be other tariffs
that then function in the *cojuratio*. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

771 /371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless
769 they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society
with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is re-
flected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative
627 remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four
681 centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order,
without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the
ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best
[114] studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux,
has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp
[171] difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these
authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the *reqba*, the *ᶜanâya* are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

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1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, *La grande Kabylie* /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the *dîâ*, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

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(171)

> /footnote 1 continued/ observations and those of C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerdjera /The Kabyles of the Djurdjura/, 1859, have certainly inspired Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. III, pp. 77 sq.

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The dîâ is not Kabyle. Now the milieu that we are studying is dominated by the pecuniary compensation, which comparativism has regarded for a long time as of a stage and character contrasting with those of a purely familial law. But what is there that is historical in these distinctions, and should we give them a value other than a didactic one?

Certainly, the question of concrete relations that, in such-and-such a society, could be manifested between retaliation, compensation, composition fixed in advance, vengeance, punishment, and judgment is obscure. Perhaps in analogous milieus there were fundamentally opposed attitudes and options. In order to make a comparison with an ancient law, a comparison that has sometimes inspired adventurous theories, let us recall, but only as a landmark, that the old Germanic law /372/ simultaneously knew composition, an attenuated phase of familial vengeance, compatible moreover with an arbitral or judiciary organization, and proscription, which is of ritual character.

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In old Seksawa law the fine, which is a trait of highly "advanced" public law, and tariffed composition are known simultaneously. But as far as one can go back through the written sources, nothing but that is known; never retaliation. The contrary opinion has nevertheless been supported, but, it seems, without serious sources. We do not have the right to infer from pre-Islamic or Biblical Arab comparisons the existence of a stage in which personal vengeance could have legally been exercised here. One can, certainly, ask whether proscription after the crime is not also indeed a ritual evasion, favored by the institution of places of asylum, such as Z'init', and in the course of which intercessions, either familial or religious (intervention

/389 cont./

695 182 the role of the jusjurandum was formerly more extensive in the system before the introduction of the Arab notarial art came to disturb its economy. But one has no reason to eliminate as "recent" the character of laicity that the course presents and which is attested to for several centuries. The disconnection, in a way, of the function of the oath, which, an immediate technique of settlement, has become, in the heart of a procedure, the competitor of the writing, denotes in the present stage the trace of a profound and ancient regression of the sacred.

/390/ Divergences Between the Evolution of the Religion and That of the Law

● 121 [776] But would we not observe a regression of this genre in hagiology? Between the historic heroine who rules the Seksawa and the anonymity of the local sanctuaries, no intermediary stage. To what is the fact to be attributed? To an original character or to an acquired evolution? And, in this second hypothesis, to the progress of a community in love with classifications, to the decadence of the creative faculties, or to the logical expansion of monotheism? We know nothing about it. However that may be, it indeed seems that at a certain period there took place a simplification of this society, a lopping of the autochthonous spontaneities, and that that is to be put in relation with such a trait, still to be discovered, of the reception of Islam in the Haut Atlas.

[613] It is undoubtedly the agnatic group, as ritual person as well as juridical person, that bore the cost of the transformation, or of the decadence. Whence the discordant and anomalistic character that its survivals or its reappearances assume today. But the void thus created has been diversely filled by law and religion.

776 795 At the base exists a swarming of observances most often exclusive of personal support, and we have even recognized there a sacred of strictly communal foundation. The religious and social here go so far as to become identified. On a superior stage two or three figures of saints, common to all or part of the Seksawa,

/391 cont./
671 the system was dedicated to complication, subtlety, feint. The
178 contribution from the outside became the avowed principle,
177 whereas the indigenous foundation fell back on secrecy and
chicanery. Nevertheless, the ensemble held. It held by the
671 conspiracy of the economy, of a collective psychology, and of
182 the event. It held above all because this society set the communal institution against the external threats and internal dislocation. The commune rebuilt everything that collapsed. This permanent reconstruction alone rendered possible the maintaining of the ensemble in spite of so many incongruities.

182 Only the commune fashioned the synthesis. And it is precisely in its most conscious form, most modern to our eyes, the most striking by its democratic and laic character, in these deliberations by the group on its law and its saints, that so many heterogeneous elements were best expressed: the old shy particularity, reference to Islam, and, above all, the desire to adapt, to innovate in order to preserve, to innovate in order to survive.

A Suppressed Culture

121 This course is the very one of history. In fact, we found history, among the Seksawa, not only in the obscure testimony of medieval chronicles, but in the structure of the groups, the adventure of individuals, and the /392/ very hierarchy of the sacred. Perhaps it is also to be recognized in the style of their culture and of their life.

177 The evolution and the secular action of the capitals, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Taroudant, which are in some respects two cities of God, came less to modify the local genius, or to precipitate its rhythm, than to add to its complexity. As far as one goes
181 back, it is found imbued with this aptitude for heterogeneity,
177 which, if it is not original, certainly goes back to a stage still anterior to our oldest archives. Although this stage remains to be specified, one divines there a singular propensity to accept the thing of others. Introduction of foreign norms, acceptance of master words, in this case the language of a legal fraternity somewhat sorcerer, culture of defensive strategems, use of mask elements and refuge elements: all that creates a composite, artificial genre, both welcoming and resistant, servile and inexpugnable. For the Chleuh /Shluh/, his very nature.

/392 cont./
181 The outside contribution clashes more with the local authen-
177 ticity, and it more willingly, one might say, accepts it. From
day to day the system increases its amplitude, magnifies its
virtuosity to welcome. The Mussulman exclusion of usury is
going to be fashioned in it with an immemorial practice of credit
[779] with interest. The preferences of the fiqh for the contract, which
it substitutes every time it can for the rite or the statute, are
[675] adopted with enthusiasm by this communitarian society, which
goes further. In that the fiqh will not only be accepted, but surpassed,
caricatured. The milieu has brought into play its prodigious
agility of means, its dangerous munificence of gifts. Acrobatic
conciliation with its profound, and in a sense parodic,
options.

● 121 One is not sure in fact that a certain play, some incertitude,
indeed even this vagueness that so opportunely authorizes bilingualism,
are not contrived as evasion. Game aspect, ruse aspect,
surprise aspect, absurdity aspect: so many, if I may venture to say
it, relief escapements left to the ennui of the honest Chleuh
/Shluh/ man, which mortify both his own ideal and the adventure
of the times.

The system of the Seksawa, or of another such of these populations,
naturally does not present itself as a body of doctrine,
even though the preceding analyses have, perhaps to excess, indicated
the part of the deliberate. It is especially a technical
ensemble corresponding to an ensemble of emotions, to a certain
121 awareness of the just and the unjust. This feeling, it is history
that has created it. Now this is a history of retreats and defeats.
175 The decrescendo of hope undoubtedly began among the Seksawa
with the construction of the citadel of al-Qâhira, which pushed
them back toward the mountains. Elsewhere, with other events,
standing out from a general failure: /393/ the one that sanctioned
in the last third of the thirteenth century the installation of the
Mérinides at Marrakech, among the last jumps of Almohadism.
For our Seksawa, these jumps lasted throughout the fourteenth
century.

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175 121 Now, it is in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that in the S.-W. of Morocco the Arab notarial practice became general, with all its consequences in the local genius: imitation, wagers, travesties, outbidding.

One can suppose that it was also during this period that the "Tables of the Law," ikchchuden or alwâh', material form assumed by the native codifications, multiplied. These communal archetypes seem to have formed the counterpart of the generalization of the individual writing, evident even at this time. A deliberate and collective effort of juridical expression could very well have been launched by this invasion from the exterior: both resistance and compromise, a mixed sentiment from which was to proceed, four centuries later, such Kabyle tariffications. A technique of proof, or, better, a technique of the judiciary memory, armed with a convenient instrument, paper, and a prestigious language, because secret, the Arabic notarial one, laid siege to the country. It awakened there a juridical spontaneity whose previous creations escape us. The Chleuh /Shluh/ law of the plain and even of the mountains was then undoubtedly driven to the necessity of adaptation and renovation from which its present characteristics resulted (1).

175 121 343 712 1. It was perhaps also in this period that the charters of granary-citadels were drafted. Mme Jacques Meunié connects this drafting with the primacy of the Igezzulen at the time, and the "kingdom" of Tazerŵalt, Greniers-citadelles... /Granary-citadels.../, 1951, p. 232. The hypothesis is quite interesting, but too limited, it would seem. The invasion of all of North Africa by the "marabouts" of the Moroccan S.W. likewise took place at the same time. There is an ensemble of facts there, about whose connection one has a presentiment, without, however, being able to explain it up to now.

/393 cont./

175 121 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneously a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

[137] (177) At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys, in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 [128] [184] Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s.

[571] All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral qualification, as well as their economic

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577 competitions of the group, the number of affairs where a good ob-
571 jective law could have made victory anticipated before a juris-
diction likewise objective -- but is it? -- is ludicrously small
compared to that of the mad instances that hatred, appetite, fi-
delity impose. An instinctive realism thus governs the indefinite
reconduction of litigations rather than a decision that would close
debate, and dry up life.

Nevertheless, out of this confusion of passions and interests, of subtleties and angers, finally rises a sort of equilibrium. It is formed from the constancy that opposes indefinitely, that is to say, maintains in their respective positions, the rival factions. Tension becomes safeguard. Vengeance, the momentary possession of power, the success of a judicial stratagem compensate for, for a few moments, a few years, a few generations, the phases of persecution, poverty, or exile. The justice of this society thus governs the free exercise of each of the two terms of the alternative.

An appeal to outside intervention, which would consolidate
one or the other, is properly inexpiable treason. Whence the
rigorous penalties that the canton codifications devote to it:
[634] heavy fines, banishment, death. But let us not exaggerate. To
[628] enter into understandings with the neighbor, against the communal
adversary, is a constant solicitation between these homogeneous
cantons, bound by obscure solidarities. Neither would peace offer
here the security that this word arouses in a modern mind, nor war
[721] the unconditional violence and leap into the unknown that it is for
us. Here war is but an infraction of the rules of the game. But it
is also the recourse to a larger game. Rapine and vengeance
/396/ are practiced in the one case as well as in the other one.
More than individuals, it is families who are the protagonists.
Exactly like the Fabia gens, certain ones carry on alliances and
rivalries by themselves. War is the prolongation of municipal
121 tensions. Unless, inversely, they result from larger disputes. To
what therefore does the notion of taqbilt correspond, on both sides
of which are disposed the one and the other tension, thus similar
and interdependent, and to what extent does it constitute a

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threshold: here is one of the primary objectives of Maghrebi sociology.

This threshold is in any case perceptible by the heart. Serious circumstances, a shifting of emotions or passions are necessary in order for one to transgress it. It is then a leap to another plane. Here the communal order reigns, with its warmth and intimacy, its lively ceremonies, its choruses, its dances. It rests upon a formidable instinct of duration, and of what it contributes in compensations in the long run.

The need for revenge, the hope of distant restorations, of showy returns, confidence in antagonisms propitious to the maneuver, offering each one his chance, and which excite the man, in victory as in defeat, to his full measure of vehemence and beauty -- that is what guides the group. Precariousness at the moment, but safeguard in time, indefinite quarrel, but reversals that guarantee perpetual movement: such are also and down to the details the moral correspondences of the law in this part of the Atlas.

Now this system is not isolated. It adheres to a great monotheism. It is interested in the wonders of the towns and of the plain, anxious to appropriate for itself, while neutralizing them, innovations and progress, or simply singularities. All this has imbued it with enthusiasms, distrusts, equivocations, and, above all, uneasiness. It feels besieged. Its culture has become transactional. Its sense of justice, although violent and original, did not escape the reach of such a phenomenon. The Seksawa order, this order of compression and explosion, is also an order that disguises itself, for it judges itself, and judges itself for the worse.

Only contemporary psychology could attempt to explain how this society has expressed its resistances and its defeats by all sorts of traits of ambiguity perceptible in its dialect, its ideas, its mores, its law. It would account for, by a felt culpability, this comportment that sometimes reserves for itself, sometimes transfers to others, the terrible judgment of history. Both these attitudes are fashioned diversely, according to the object or the epoch. This is the origin, not only /397/ of so many contrasts

/397 cont./

121 literarily exploited apropos the "Berbère," but more precisely of this incertitude that is at the bottom of it, formed by intimate transactions, relinquishments, and circumscribed resistances. To give and to retain: such is his law. Culture of contractions and circumvolutions, I should venture to say.

How, in the apprehension of a justice for which this man violently thirsts, can such a state of affairs be reconciled with a vitality with tension and alternations, so equipped to be patient and to endure? The just, for the Seksawa, risks being both the thing of importation, or at least expected from the exterior, and the thing that one hides within oneself without ever discovering it. Evasion on the one hand: through emigration, apprenticeship in Arabic or French letters, sometimes such an ostentatious treachery, almost romantic, such profanation: then the individual rushes forth, casting all behind him.

But also inaccessible flame in the depths of the heart, in the depths of history, in the depths of the grimoires, and which a rhythm of communal dancing, an inspiration from the saints of the Tichka or of Z'init' alone come to revive from time to time. /Page 398 is blank./

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Fourth Part
Attempt at Interpretation

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/401/

I. Limits and Range of the Seksawa Type

Position of the Seksawa in the Ensemble of the North African Sedentary Peoples

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121 The method of parallels is obsolete. Even to stop at criteria as provisional as sedentariness or Berbérophony, the present knowledge of North Africa does not permit a precise enough comparison between sectors. The latter, however, are ordered by geographical masses. Once the Rif, because insufficiently studied, the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, because governed by economic and

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171 121 social movements too different from those that concern us, and finally the Touareg /Tuareg/, because eccentric to the Maghreb, are eliminated, attention can be concentrated on a few domains that offer analogies to ours and at the very least the practical advantage of being quite well known (1).

> 1. Since, of course, here it is not a matter of monographs on Kabylia, the Aurès or the Mzâb, one will abstain from general bibliography, although an excellent comparative description of the various sedentary milieus of North Africa is to be found in J. Despois, L'Afrique du Nord, 1949. (114) The documentation for the following pages comes mainly from investigation on the spot and also cross-checking carried on with experts. Notably, MM. R. Montagne, Ancel, Laburthe, Miralles, Rahmani, Ibnou Zekri, G.-H. Bousquet, Larnaude for Kabylia; Faublée, Cazebonne, for the Aurès; J. Schacht and the late P. Giacobetti for the Mzâb; Lieutenant Berthé for the Touareg /Tuareg/. My thanks to all.

171 Analogy? In the case of the Sous, let us say identity. The Seksawa are part of the Sous, even though more geographical space is integrated with this convenient appellation than present usage would concede to it. It is still infinitely less than it included in Arab authors. To wit: not only the plain but its mountainous reverses, the whole forming the essential of the linguistic and cultural domain of the tachelh'it /Tashelhit/. The southern counterfort of this Chleuh /Shluh/ country, the Anti-Atlas, homologous to our milieu with respect to the bisector that the river of the Sous describes, offers engaging correspondences with it. Economic resemblances, symmetries of peopling, action of the same saints, reign of the same theological and juridical genre. No need to insist here upon /402/ the multiple traits of

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Elements Offered By the Type To the Social Morphology of the Maghreb 171

121 Thus the Seksawa type, and more broadly the Chleuh /Shluh/
type, can be placed in the ensemble of the Berbérophone societies
of the Maghreb. If the area considered here bears educational
value for the rest, this would be less a postulate than a research
hypothesis. It would be authorized by two considerations. These
175 high valleys are a historical refuge attested to for a thousand years
121 of Moroccan history. From the time of the Almohades they have
played the role of relay of the independence and of the continuity
of the Maçmûda. This remark, exact in a general sense, must,
however, be appropriately nuanced, indeed circumscribed. On
this one returns to the pages devoted to another, likewise essential
aspect of this milieu: the transactional equilibrium that it realizes
between rival cultures. Hinterland husbanded, but engaged in the
Almohade adventure, principality obstinately rebellious against
the central power, the Seksawa seem to have lost, from the end of
the fourteenth century, and because of being cut off from their
plain, any possibility of a constructive destiny. Since those remote times they have kept a miserable independence. Cabinet of
antiques, archeological witness: they are certainly this, and would
have remained such up to our day if, within the enceinte so well
safeguarded, so many collapses, morcellations, had not occurred.

121 In that at least they always approached the general. From there a /410/ second concern. Surrounded by this permanent disaster, the eternal Maghrebi vitality perpetually revivifies the exhausted corps, irrigates this waste, repopulates the empty spaces. Everywhere the old unraveled, tattered tribal tissue recomposes itself. The immigration from the South comes to mend the tears, remake the life, perpetuate a tradition. Thus, refection opposes destruction; reform, the decadence.

The Seksawa offer even more than a privileged case of collective identity. Under a historical guarantee rarely equaled in other rural milieus of North Africa, they illustrate with richness and precision an entire charter of exchanges between the group

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121 and the country. In the explanation of these exchanges seem to reside both the principal contribution of this investigation and its most certain contribution to the generality. The relations stated here between different orders of reality, such as the structure of the community, its work techniques, the scansion of its duration, the division of its space, are valid beyond the sector.

It will therefore be legitimate to interpret. The application of the ideas thus extricated might be risky elsewhere. One will refrain, both from a lack of material and through scruples of principle, from asking of the Seksawa, in comparing them with other "examples," the least lesson of comparativism. But one will attempt to apply the concrete results, the indications of method and the questions flowing from the present research to the principal problem of Maghrebi sociology: that of the strucure of the groups.

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II. Narrow Formations

Now this problem is obscured no less by its own difficulty then by almost a century of doctrinal debate. Observation of the lively small countries of the Haut-Atlas will nevertheless permit grasping it with concrete holds, on condition of pursuing, up to the ultimate ramifications, the examination of the exchanges between the group and its milieu.

Levels of the Agrarian Organization

000 The old Roman agronomy had two ways of considering a field. To see there the "land for wheat," the "land for the vine," according to characteristics melted into individualities, ingenia, says Virgil. Or else to appreciate it as a function of general data that it more or less shared, and whose influence won out over its particular vocation: "lands hot, heavy, cold," etc. One could in fact, like modern science, define a field by the combined play of physical and chemical factors. But, no less validly, one can see in it a whole defying analysis, an almost personal figure.

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121 One will recall the imaginative inductions that suggested to
103 Renan, in his *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, the genius of Semitic
182 languages and their alleged inaptitude for mythology. If today such ideas are contradicted or obsolete, the value of interpretation and or of comparison of the philology has only grown. I need as proof of this only the very recent contributions to the study of societies by its latest discipline, phonology (2).

103 In this sense, the agrarian toponymy of the Seksawa, with its
182 density, its implications with the communal organization, and its Berbère /Berber/ integrity, can furnish its contribution to new investigations. Let us observe, for example, that in these two series of names corresponding to the structural echelons of the group on the one hand, of the landscape on the other, the value of the signifier /Fr. *signifiant*/ (3) is not equal everywhere.

The anthroponymy in fact expresses precise contents whether it /418/ is a matter of the person, the foyer, the *ikhs*, the *taqbilt*. Beyond this, however, the connotation is more vague. It comes to not having any more than a variable value, one of the terms of this variation possibly tending toward what the linguists call "degree zero." Such is the case for forms whose wording often recurs in North African science: "tribe," "confederation,"

2. For example, in the *Structures élémentaires de la parenté* /Elementary kinship structures/, by Cl. Levi-Strauss, 1949, p. 611, and all the work of L. Gernet.

3. One apologizes for this technical term, recently spread by the tr. of the book by N. S. Troubetzkoy, *Principes de Phonologie*, tr. J. Cantineau, 1949, p. 2.

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619 634 whole, the exceptional character of this type, as rich in methodological import as it is vulnerable to circumstances, lead the analysis to envisage, by a new advance, the body of broader relations.

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III. Broad Formations

The "Leff" Solidarity: Related and Concurrent Forms

616 121 The theory of the leff-s, the general expression of which dates back some twenty years (1),

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121 171 616 114 1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930. Previously, partial observations or rough outlines of the theory in C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, who gives, p. 40, a map of the çoff-s, where the famous "chessboard" is recognized. Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. II, pp. 11 sq. In the Constantine S., the opposition of the Bu^{c}okkâz çoff to the Bengana is figured in the Aurès by a reciprocal exchange noted by the Commissaire of the Sénatus Consulte (Schaeffer Report, arch. of Aris, 20-4-1890: significant map). Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1882, p. 167, recognizes these divisions, but gives a simplistic explanation for them. In Morocco, de Foucauld, Reconnaissance, 1888, pp. 318 sq., describes, apropos Sektana and Gezzula, what is quite precisely the balance of these two leff-s, less, however, the name. This last is stated by Ed. Doutté in his very rich article on "L'organisation sociale et domestique

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121 171 616 114 /footnote 1 continued/ chez les H'âh'a /The social and domestic organization among the H'âh'a/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1905, p. 15. The author saw that this institution is an element of makhzanian politics. De Segonzac, Au coeur de l'Atlas /In the heart of the Atlas/, 1910, mentions the play of the leff-s in Chyâd'ma, p. 421, ᶜAbda, p. 453, etc. Aug. Bernard, quoting Doutté, shows this play being exercised in oriental Morocco, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Confines/, 1911, pp. 104 sq. But it was the privilege of R. Montagne to revive the question by plunging the study of these dualisms within the economic, juridical, and political context of the Moroccan S. and of the ensemble of Berbérie /Barbary/. His thesis is affirmed little by little in a series of monographs beginning in 1924. After Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, the only essential contribution is that of Col. Justinard apropos the Tagizzult and the Tah'oggʷat of the Anti-Atlas and the Sous: "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIᵉ siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/." Arch. mar., 1933, pp. 59 sq, 76 sq.; above all he translated an important text of the eighteenth century, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940; he takes up his thesis, pp. 173 sq. Cf. c. r. /report/ by R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIIIᵉ siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leff among the Masmouda at the beginning of the eighteenth century/," Hesp., 1941, pp. 92, 93 sq., where the theory is greatly enlarged. Since that time, the principal contributions have been the cartography of J. Dresch, 1941; the monograph by Tuder, "Anciennes divisions et alliances en pays Imerhan /Ancient divisions and alliances in Imerhan country/," in CHEAM, 1946; an account by

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121 171 616 114 /footnote 1 continued/ Marcy, taking up an interesting Aurès legend, "La tribu berbère: structure, leffs," in CHEAM, 1941; the application of the theory by Mme Dj. Jacques-Meunié, Greniers-citadelles du Maroc /Granary-citadels of Morocco/, 1951, pp. 218 sq.; and especially, in a region little known up to now, a monograph by Cauneille, "Les ligues du S. tripolitain /The leagues of the Tripolitan S./, " in CHEAM.

616 121 resolves the Berbère /Berber/ structure of the Maghreb into balanced dualisms, with corresponding broad zones. Would it be to make system out of necessity to emphasize the extent to which the value of these dualisms rests in the confrontation of names, rather than in their content? This last has merit above all, if I may venture to say it, because of its very indecision. R. Montagne extends the thesis to /425/ the entire sedentary Berbère world. He shows that its applications are susceptible to variable rigor, to modalities unequally full or decadent according to the sectors. The criterion would be the density of the content, still perceptible particularly in the Anti-Atlas where the Tagizzult-Tah'ogg^{w}at opposition would recover that of two layers of peopling (1).

[114] 1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, p. 214. This interpretation, toward which R. Montagne as well as Colonel Justinard seem to lean more and more, has not up to now been compared, I believe, with the one that Moroccan Judaism gives of its own division into "natives" and "immigrants." The comparison nevertheless should be made.

[171] In fact, these dualisms arise from a general theme. R. Montagne has pointed out examples of it in Arabia, Kurdistan, and elsewhere. In a form more or less balanced and complete, more or less alive or degraded, being inscribed in the geography, unless it

/425 cont./

616 121 is transposed to a wholly moral plane, the "law" is observed in most of the societies (2).

2. Cl. Lévi-Strauss, "La politique étrangère d'une société primitive /The foreign policy of a primitive society/," Politique étrangère, 1949, p. 151; "Histoire et ethnologie," Revue de métaphysique et de morale, 1949, pp. 373 sq.

It assuredly accounts for multiple Maghrebi facts, but, let us keep in mind, less in their specificity than in that they obey an almost universal dialectic. Now, what will interest us here is in what and how these formations are Maghrebi.

616 [192] One could argue that the Arabic word leff belongs to the local vocabulary (3),

3. Les Textes arabes du Sous, by Destaing, mention the word in the index, but it does not figure in any text. Cf., however, Sources in., Port., first series, t. III, p. 199 (apropos a confederation of tribes).

if it were not found again in an incontestable document, a letter from the amghar Umulid, in the sense of "party," of "coalition," this itself from the Chleuh /Shluh/ word amqqun, from the root [571] [701] qq.n, "to bind." But amqqun is understood here as the military alliance, either a lasting coalition or an episodic combination in view of an expedition. The more general group-to-group relations are rendered rather by the qualification of aitma, "brothers." 571 616 [695] These are "fraternities," creating or verifying an imprecise, but bilateral obligation. Their force, diminishing in proportion as its field of application is extended, is locally connected with that of collective solidarities that are exercised on the occasion of plural oaths. The latter, it is true, involve in the first place the agnates.

/425 cont./

616 121 They scarcely go any further today. But formerly their exercise was vaster (4).

616 121 114 4. The essential written source is the text of the Rih'la translated by Col. Justinard. A patient semantic study would also be necessary in order to discern from the context which nuance is in question: permanent "league," or incidental "coalition." I confess that the reports on the text of the ms. of the Rih'la that I /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ possess have not entirely convinced me. The translator sometimes adds the word when it is not given in the original (tr. p. 49, ms. p. 39. Doubtful case, tr. p. 31, ms. p. 17. Id., tr. p. 118, ms. p. 92). In other cases one may doubt the interpretation (tr. pp. 76, 87, 92, ms. pp. 59, 67, 72). If one is to believe the translator, the term leff is also found in the Nafh'ât ach-Chabâb, Justinard tr., "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes from Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, p. 331, next-to-last §. Finally, we have translated and reproduced the letter from the amghar Umulid in which this word is used, "Poésie et vérité sur les Seksawa /Poetry and Verity from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, p. 145.

616 121 and /426/ we know by a text from the Haut Seksawa (1)

1. Cf. p.

that a convention between groups could enlarge it further.

Parental, procedural, or international solidarity: these three notions, unequally used, unequally clear in the native

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616
121
consciousness, present there some confusion of contour. It would therefore be inexact to label them under signs that are too precise: consanguinity -- pacts subscribed to -- existence of affinities; or else ancestral community -- convention -- statute. This would be to attempt to define them for the European. What observation suggests, on the contrary, is their indistinction. At the very least the continuity that prevails from one to the other. This continuity goes quite far. It can go so far as to modify the situation of the group, to form or break up what we today, groping a little, call confederations or tribes. Local tradition has recorded several of these morphological variations (2).

2. It is in this fashion that in a. Abdella, the ikhs of the a. Si Mh'and was attached to that of the a. Lkhil through a promise of sacramental assistance, and thus was able to settle in the village. The a. u Gord', of the a. Wageryan (Dwiran), not being supported by their "brothers" in a criminal affair, emigrated and came to live on the border of the plain, attaching themselves to another group. For all that, they have not lost their ritual capacity in the former habitat. During the annual feast of the saints of Aduz, it is they who inaugurate the round of visits that the whole tribe makes there. In Mez'ud'a, the a. Lh'at'ib (a. Gh'id'), for an analogous reason, seceded from their original group, the a. H'sayn, and settled in the village of Tamazirt. The a. Uchellad' left the a. Werdas and was admitted at Taz'arin. They left in their original habitat only a colony of crops. But here is a wider movement. An entire taqbilt, that of the a. Khtab, was accused of murder. Its I. Buzia brothers refusing to swear for it, it was admitted into the Mtugga.

/426 cont./

616 121 Still it seems less rich on this point than in other regions. The procedures brought into play on these occasions: berru or tberrit, "denunciation" of the original group; tighersi, "sacrifice of accession" to the new group -- have left here only a very rough souvenir. The forms are worn. But the institution has lost nothing of its affective or practical suggestions.

And the synthesis that is detected between notions such as judiciary rites, plural oaths, alliance, segregation or extension of collectivities undoubtedly restores the true atmosphere of the leff.

/427/ The Leff in Seksawa

616 It is true that the Seksawa do not offer a very rich contribution to this study (1).

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, p. 186, observes this asymmetry. He notes also that the Mtugga escape the leff-s, p. 193.

[178] [184] Among them today the notion of the leff is well obliterated, in any case stripped of the sentimental suggestions that it may maintain elsewhere, in the very close Gedmiwa, for example. Its theoretical role itself, that of a balanced dualism opposing piece by piece, as on a chessboard, the taqbilt-s of one and the same ensemble, remains unperceived.

616 619 634 Everyone in Seksawa may be considered as Eghōrti, plur. Ighertan, with the exception of the a. Lh'sen, rather vigorously Imsifem, and by this title maintaining ties with the homonymous fractions of the Mez'ud'a, their saint sidi Ah'med u Āli, and their brothers beyond Tichka, the Tigguga. But the qualification is not always clear. If the Idma are unhesitatingly of the first group, it is not the same for the a. Musa and the a. H'adduyws. The former, by general admission, have wavered between the two flags.

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616 against their Idaw Mçat't'og brothers, they succeeded in buying
619 the benevolent neutrality of the Tigguga. Lastly, gentilitial or
634 even individual variations came about, to which no discredit was attached.

The *leff* affinity never prevents initiative in the opposite direction. Such a state of being unattached can be attributed to decadence. But it is necessary to state that, at the single stage that may be observable, rival ambitions of individuals and families confront one another inside the canton, in paltry dispositions, but also often lasting, and which may react on the general configuration. The two qualifications thus exist, but are neither always clear nor always imperative. Above all neither ponderation nor regularity reigns between them. An entire context of personal and collective initiative modifies them. One feels that indeed factors come here to disturb what we would suppose arises from a two-part rhythm. And, a more serious thing, these are factors of different level: if some appear to us to express old collective antagonisms, and thus to orient the explanation toward the hypothesis of an organic equilibrium, others evidently arise from fantasy, from the event, from machination or from chance. All this works in diverse directions and gives the impression of an extreme contingency.

616 Are these anomalies peculiar to the Seksawa? And what should
121 one think about the most considerable one among them: the absence of declared. Imsifern in the system, if it were not in the single a. Lh'sen canton, that is, among rather recent immigrants? Why this asymmetry, contrasting with the exact bipartism of all [illegible] groups that surround the Seksawa to the W., the E., and the S.? Is it necessary to suppose that this is a trait of rupture? The ancient expulsed populations, a. Gasa on one side, Demsira colonists on the other, or the even more ancient conquered ones: a. Sh'aq, a. Umgan, a. Châib, Ih'erdach, were they in their time arranged according to the classic figure of the chessboard? Mystery.

Another explanation that comes to mind would be that the extreme vigor of the tyrannical phenomenon in Seksawa during the twentieth century with /429/ its three great conquering *amghar*-s

/429 cont./

616 brought about a basic perturbation. It was thus that Umulid constantly played against other Ighertan, by making common cause
121 with the a. Lh'sen. The very chance of one of his letters shows us apropos of this, as has been seen, one use of the word *leff*: a valuable lexicographical cross-check, but basically a new difficulty. For either Umulid considers himself as having become Emsifōr, like the caid Mokhtar, or he uses this term in an extended sense of alliance, or of front: in a word, in a sense which vulgarizes the Algerian term *çoff*, which has become so essential to Franco-Mussulman life of small Algerian towns that the modern novel has made it famous.

If the dualism of the *leff*-s is above all a coexistence of virtualities, between which the collective, and sometimes even the individual, option is exercised, if each one these two terms themselves is exclusive neither of variety nor mutations, the problem then remains entirely one of learning why large zones are subject to it and why, on the other hand, such and such a sector escapes it. The distorting schemings of the chiefs, the degradation of the old order inherent in the rise of personal power during the twentieth century could not in any case account for the particular situation of the Seksawa. Everywhere and always in the Atlas, there has been alternation of the chefferie /military district/ and democracy. The historical and statistical inquiry, with graphic notations, that was desired in the case at hand by R. Montagne (1) would certainly be useful for knowlege of the past of these societies. It would not provide any explanation. It would reveal the play of initiatives, being applied to conjunctures. Perhaps the bicolor background of the *leff*-s would come out as endowed with constancy, with a constancy in restorations, and thus linked to a certain legitimacy: thrilling research, but one does not see that it could advance the definition of the content.

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1. In his c. r. /report/ of the thesis of J. Dresch, *Hesp*., 1943, p. 232.

/429 cont./

616 121 It seems then that the analysis must take other routes. Two data of observation are perhaps going to help here.

First of all, it is necessary to substitute the indigenous metaphor for the European metaphor. It is not as two opposing fronts of European nations that the man of the Atlas, with good reason, sees the leff-s. But as an option with two terms, whose most convenient image is for him that of the confrontation of two ranks of coswearers. Let us follow this indication. From the plural oath to the leff, a coefficient of spreading in space perhaps accounts for at least part of the differences between these two types of solidarity.

/430/ Secondly, if the attempts at definition of the leff-s by their content have been unfruitful up to now, and if it has been necessary, in order to explain this failure, to resort to the hypothesis of decadence, would it not be both more economical and more in keeping with objectivity to shift the emphasis from the problems of content in order to attach it to the form itself?

A Tension With Mutation of Signs

616 184 Not far from the Seksawa, toward the S.-W., another mountain group, the Idaw T'anan (1),

1. In. /unpublished/ Monographie by R. Montagne, 1927, and personal references.

has remained unacquainted with these alternations. Its ethnological tenor is strong. Its legend of founding saint, the vitality of the assemblies, the original functions falling to the imz'ran during their round of annual justice still affirm an institution plenitude, excluding any idea of caducity, not long ago. Now the leff is unknown here. Its role is assumed here by a local organization, no longer binary, but ternary. All the public life of the Idaw T'anan rests upon a division into three equivalent groups. Each of them separately may enter into outside alliances. But a lively solidarity, made up in part by these very antagonism, in part by rites, maintains a community.

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616 571 184 121 Would it be simple tautology to emphasize that if the Idaw T'anan thus escape the dualism of the leff-s, it is because of such an originality? The force of their internal rhythm, by three and not by two, has been able to keep alive among them a tension sufficient, it seems, to exclude the other formula. Let us note that in certain respects, the tripartition of the a. H'adduyws, for example, could account for analogous effects. But in this case it expresses something entirely different from an organic division. It arouses rather the idea of artificial fractionings, resulting from more or less official and deliberate simplifications, which other ensembles offer. The truth is that it is necessary to study at length the individuality of each case in order to extricate the meaning. The example of the Mtugga can be cited symmetrically to that of the Idaw T'anan. No leff-s among them either. But it this not because the course of Bwabbut' surpasses, by an adventure geographically, technically, and sentimentally superior, the mediocrity of the montagnard case? Among them, too, the system proper excludes external borrowing. The classificatory role of the leff-s is supplanted here by a broader obligation, as it was in Idaw T'anan /431/ by a shorter rhythm. It is therefore not impossible that the exception to the general bipartism that the Seksawa represent is moreover connected in their case to a certain specialty. Specialty of a history and of a tradition responsible for a very personal comportment.

Thus, when a group apparently forms an exception to the bipartism of the leff-s, it is perhaps because it is supported by a tension of another type, peculiar to it, and which may be different in each case. Such a viewpoint orients the research into the fruitful avenue of varieties of groups, so characteristic of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It also agrees with two traits of observation. First, that the dualism of the leff-s would be above all onomastic; than, that it may be replaced by classifications of another genre.

616 171 Considered from this angle, the theory of the leff-s is going to come out of the montagnard and Berbère /Berber/ isolation where it was cantoned in spite of evident and embarrassing applications that have turned up here and there in Arab countries, in the Sahara

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000 availability of course, of feint, or of hope. We see these confusions begin on the terrain, at the stage where a small political cell of the Haut Atlas bursts over two or three valleys. And what will become of these broader forms, which any knowledge, any Maghrebi action will necessarily meet on their path!

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Conclusion

121

Discordance of the Material and Social Aspects (1)

1. One will not be able to refrain, in this development, from value judgments. In spite of the economic analyses of our Second Part, on which it was believed one could support them, the undertaking is delicate. Cf. E. Durkheim, Les règles de la méthode sociologique /The rules of the sociological method/, 1895, and the distinction between the "normal" and the "anormal," pp. 74 sq., which it is proper, in my opinion, to pair with the recent attainments of "human ecology."

121 619 634 One might believe that the taqbilt of the Atlas, because of its clearness of foundations, its close liaison to a space, its logical rigor, finally its autonomy, arises directly from the ground, and that its structure owes nothing to the foreigner. But there is none so solitary, so defended by the country or the event that it does not reveal, in its form as well as in its substance, a sharing with the most distant Maghreb. Let us therefore carry forward ~~the~~ examination of any group of the Haut Seksawa. This little society is not determined by the milieu with the exactitude that would make one conjecture an immemorial peasant civilization.

182 Adaptation to the cadre is done by a perpetual mediocrity of the peopling and of the enterprises. Mediocrity indispensable to the weak equilibrium with a nature that, in the case of demographic

/447 cont./

182 climate. On the other hand, a powerful and artful social control governs a milieu of furious and perpetual discussion. Here again, which is the basic aspect, and which is the derived aspect? These "survivals" of an ancient stage, little by little drowned by the afflux of the modern, would they not instead be reconstructions?

121 Up to here we have reserved the answer, which involves our entire conception of these people and their history. It is now
128 going to be necessary to choose between two possible explanations. Already the coexistence of such characteristics seemed to us to dismiss the hypothesis of a simple development, of a uniform construction. But there is more. Anachronism, ruptures in tone, contrasts are not only constant here, but regular, and almost systematic. Everything happens as if this society were seeking, by internal compensation, the re-establishment, of an equilibrium and the maintenance of an autonomy. Attraction to newness, submission to violence or to the seduction of others are compounded here with the safeguarding of the personality by excess in the opposite direction. The archaizing reaction depends on modernism.

What discordances in any case! This man is a citizen, devoted to universal values, advanced in the mobilization of rights, newcomer at legislative debate, at laicity. And the commune controls and penalizes comportments which, at this degree of individualism, should be free, and in fact believe they are. For example, it maintains the equilibrium of the patrimonies between agnatic groups. But the latter have lost most of their power even in domestic morality or economy. Same control /448/ over the play of saving, investment, revendication. These activities yield to a communitarian ethic, while everywhere else, and within themselves, the exacting initiative of the person reigns. The archaism of a penal law collectively administered exists in spite of all changes, indeeds draws a new rigor from it.

Can all this be considered the effect of chance, or even of unequal evolutions? We believe rather that unconscious regressions, compensatory or retrograde courses, invention of forms and modes, finally all these *a posteriori* movements reveal the elaboration and

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12/ the interpretation of the group by itself. It is in this that the
Chleuhs /Shluh/ are most opposed to the other Berbèrophones of
184 North Africa, Mozabites excepted. Internal cohesion, triumphing over disparities or utilizing them, thoughtful evolution, tactic with regard to the outside and reform from within: that places their system upon an entirely different level of personality than those of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ or of Kabylia (1).

1. And that provides us with a principle of classification of the various systems more sure, we believe, than the one that the late Marcy drew from a criterion of decreasing "primitivité."

I come now to an even more striking characteristic: the prodigious variety of the societies of the Atlas and of the Sous. The
[197] speech changes from valley to valley, and not only the speech, but the words, each independently of the others. What is true of the language is true of the law, rites, folklore. From canton to canton the style of life, spirit, even the physiognomies change. As the space grows smaller, the nuance becomes aggravated. The exiguity of the groups, the minutiae of local subdivisions are compensated by the density of characters. This density acts upon the landscape itself. The ground is divided into quarters, just as the group is into ikhs-s. Techniques of work and toponymy conspire in extraordinary accords with a humanity of sampling. This is in-
[171] deed far from the alleged undifferentiation, from the so-called "mechanical" juxtaposition between similar social segments that some have found in Kabylia (2).

2. R. Maunier, Essais sur les groupements sociaux /Essays on the social groupings/, 1929, p. 24. Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine /Miscellaneous works on North African sociology/, 1930, pp. 64 sq. This part of the analyses by R. Maunier is very schematic.

/Pages i-vi are title and dedication pages./

/vii/ Foreword

121 A surprising contradiction dominates the social life and the history of the populations of North Africa.

On the one hand, in fact, the sedentary or nomadic tribes of Berbérie /Barbary/ -- for as long at least as foreign conquests did not transform their conditions of existence and their organization -- have clung to having democratic or oligarchic institutions respected in their primitive States. The Aurès, Kabylia, in Algeria, the Rif, the land of the Jbala /Jebala/, and the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/, in Morocco, are thus as though covered by a mosaic of small cantons within which men strive to preserve a rigorous and jealous equality among them.

On the other hand, we know that there have always arisen in the bosom of these tribes, faithful to their traditional laws, divided into minuscule republics, leaders of principalities capable of destroying all resistance by means of their own forces, of building up vast commands in a few years, and even of founding dynasties. But the political structures of these men of war or of these "mahdis" remain ephemeral; we sometimes see them disappear without even leaving lasting traces of their capitals on the soil that saw them come into existence. From the barbarian kings assembled in Rome up to the last holy-war agitators and to the pretenders of our time, refugees on the summits of the Rif or at the boundaries of the Sahara, passing by the founders of the powerful Fatimite /Fatimid/ or Almohade empires, the ceaselessly interrupted succession of Berbère /Berber/ leaders fills the history of a constantly renewed agitation. It seems that such efforts cannot bring to an end the resistance of peoples obstinately faithful to the tradition of their anarchic communities.

Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, the only writer of North Africa who has /viii/ tried to penetrate the inner life of this country, often expressed in his work the feeling of melancholy that this fragility of kingdoms and empires inspired in him; he did not consent, however, to explain to us with enough precision how

/viii cont./

•121 the play of inner forces, united now to form them, now to destroy them, was exercised. In the absence of historians' texts, it is by studying the tribes -- and more specifically the ones that have stayed away from external influences -- that one can hope to distinguish the phases of these struggles that match the primitive republics against the leaders who dominate them for a time. It is in this form that we are permitted to see this drama, which sums up a large part of the political life of the Maghreb, being performed.

Direct observation of the small Berbère /Berber/ States, a comparison of their forms and of their structure, indeed permits catching a glimpse of the laws of their evolution, which history does not make known to us. Thus Masqueray could show, in a masterly book (1),

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1. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886.

that the primitive hamlets of the Aurès, the picturesque and animated villages of Kabylia, the silent towns of the Mzab represented among the sedentary peoples of Algeria the successive stages in the formation of cities, following a progression analogous to the one that primitive Greece and Rome may have known.

Is it not likewise permissible to wonder whether the establishment of the power of the leaders who rise for an instant over anarchic tribes does not also proceed in rapid stages according to constant rules unknown to men, but which nevertheless invariably direct their courses and lead them first to success, then to ruin?

For the purpose of trying to see whether this is so, there is doubtless no field of research more favorable than Morocco. Indeed, until the establishment of the French Protectorate, we can see an isolated empire living there, half-stricken with helplessness, shaken at the same time by dynastic crises and tribal revolts, now torn apart by dissension, now unified by the energetic

/viii cont./

121 action of a sovereign. It seems that the permanent opposition of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the central power is livelier and more constant here.

Furthermore, in one of the provinces of the South of the Empire large commands with feudal aspects exist, which by an exception /ix/ nearly unique in North Africa have taken on the appearance of stability before our eyes. There is no doubt but that we can comprehend here, from modest examples, it is true, but with a precision that history does not allow us to attain, the relations of the tribes and their chiefs.

Such were the general considerations suggested to us by the study of the history and the spectacle of the life of the tribes, when circumstances led us to conceive the project of undertaking the work that we are finishing today, after five years of investigation.

121 114 When in 1923 Marshal Lyautey did us the great honor of asking us to prolong a stay in Morocco that had allowed us to acquaint ourselves with the life of the indigenous populations and granted us complete freedom to pursue new studies there, we intended to limit ourselves solely to becoming better acquainted with the origin of the power of the chiefs of the Atlas, the organization of their commands, and the institutions that they had been able to found in Berbère /Berber/ country. After two years of missions in the western Atlas and the plains of the Sous /see p. 5, footnote 1/, it seemed to us at first that one could not understand how this "Berbère feudality" had become established without at the same time observing the progressive and correlative decline of the mountain republics, for which the leaders of the South had substituted themselves little by little for less than half a century; on the other hand, the transformation of the country, which had taken place since the appearance of the large commands, obviously only indicated a succession of stages in a more complete evolution; it was easy to see that the central government, the "Makhzen" /makhzan/, whose progressive penetration was so prominent, was coming in turn to gather in

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• 121 the heritage of the lords. Most often it was the sherifian power
114 that maintained the struggle of the chiefs and tribes by its en-
couragement or its indirect influence. The appearance of the
great kaids in Berbère /Berber/ country thus made us a witness at
the successive phases of the constitution of the Empire.

Consequently, a study mission devoted to the tribes of northern Morocco during the revolt of ᶜAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ in 1925 and 1926, then two additional years of research in the Anti-Atlas, the Dadès, and on the coast of the Sous and of the Tekna were to allow us to complete the observations that we had been able to make /x/ at first; we were led to establish numerous comparisons between the institutions of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and those of the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala /Jebala/, the Rif, and Kabylia, so as to extend the scope of our conclusions to the greatest part of sedentary Berbérie
[128] /Barbary/. The facts that have served to make up the books II
and III of this work were collected in this way.

128 It remained for us to make knowledge of these obscure
struggles in the interior of a distant and little-known province
[121] of the Sherifian Empire more accessible to the reader not very familiar with the aspects of Berbère /Berber/ life and of the history of the Maghreb. Here, in our first book, we have tried, without worrying about making a geographical study, to tell simply, but with all the development that seemed desirable to us, what the general conditions of existence and the primitive civilization of the populations established in the region where we multiplied our investigations were; likewise, while dismissing the project of writing an actual history of the Moroccan South -- impossible to compose because of the insufficiency of sources -- we also thought that it would be useful to sketch the picture of the great struggles of the past for which it was the theater.

121 In fact, it is difficult, even for a specialist, to put together easily and to interpret the principal indications that the historians and chroniclers give us about the life of a land far from the great capitals and that are found scattered in a large number of works;

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121 nevertheless, it is certain that a picture of the existence of the Moroccan South under the great dynasties or in the periods of anarchy illuminates the present rather well and successfully completes the study of still-living social forms. In following the course of history we sometimes see during the great reigns how the same forces were formerly exerted in order to arrive at results similar to the ones that we are given to observe in our day; we perceive also how, on the contrary, during the centuries of complete anarchy other influences could expand -- those of the founders of zaouias /zawiyas, zauias: Moslem monasteries and schools/ -- whose role is reduced to the most modest proportions today.

Certainly the present work -- in spite of its length -- leaves important gaps. Thus, we have not recognized for these religious leaders, shorfa /shurfa/, marabouts, masters of brotherhoods, /xi/ a role as active as one expects to see them take in this land of the "Sous el Aqsa" /Far Sous/, which has remained the fatherland of doctors of law, mystics, and saints, and people will doubtless be tempted to reproach us for not having given at great enough length the reasons for their effacement. Uncontested masters of the Sous in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the maraboutic powers have since seen their political prestige diminish before the progress of the authority of the sherifian Makhzen /makhzan/. Without doubt it might have been useful to study better the forms of the decline with which they have been struck today at the borders of the Sahara, where we found them as refugees; their activity, reduced but not negligible, still goes on in the south of the Anti-Atlas, and it is known that in the extreme part of this chain the little religious State of Tazerwalt kept a prestige sufficient to disturb the Sultans until about 1885. The necessity of ending our investigations with the tribe and not extending the size of this work indefinitely led us to limit the study of these influences, which have remained all-powerful for so long in Berbère /Berber/ country, more strictly than we would have liked.

/xi cont./

•121 We should also have liked to tell better what the juridical consequences of the political transformation that has so completely changed their social life for half a century have been for the tribes subject to the great chiefs and to the Makhzen /makhzan/. Going through transitions, often rapid, from the regulations of a customary law singularly primitive -- although very much alive and marvelously well adapted sometimes to the economic circumstances of existence -- to the rigid rules established by the sacred legislation of the Koran, the Berbères /Berbers/ see the ruin of the traditions to which they are secretly most attached thus being precipitated after their submission. The documents that might have permitted us to follow this evolution of institutions and customs are still inadequate or too difficult to interpret for us to have been able to try to follow the various phases of the conflict between the two laws. [114]

121 127 We must explain here the material conditions under which the documentation on which this study of the struggle between the Berbère /Berber/ republics and their leaders rests could be gathered.

One must not expect to find in the texts of the Moroccan authors information that would permit one to study the institutions of a province far away from the Empire. First of all, /xii/ historic sources truly worthy of the name are rare in this country; the writers of recent centuries, especially those whose information is most important to us because it explains the present more, scarcely tell us anything except the greatest events of each sovereign's reign; for the nineteenth century, barely a few pages of Akensous and of Ahmed en Nasiri bring us the brief account of the Sultan's expeditions or set down the weakened echo of the wars that took place in the Atlas. For the tribes, even in the zaouias there are scarcely any archives that can fill the gaps of the official history; sometimes only a few records give us the names of vanished leaders, or, still more rarely, the flyleaf of a law book bears, in the awkward hand of a poor village scholar, the mention of the date of the great events

/xii cont./
•121 that struck his mind, death of holy personages, passage of the
[127] Sultan's armies, struggles of villages or cantons.

So it is by direct inquiry, made in the country, that one
114 must ask what the texts deny us. It is therefore necessary to
123 try, in the course of long visits in the villages of the Atlas, to
[122] adopt the existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ for a time by a
kind of voluntary mimicry; by speaking their language, one
will even try to take on their habits of thought, in order to lessen the distance that separates us from their primitive civilization and to get to observe it better.

Moreover, this method of investigation does not proceed without serious difficulties; it imposes, perhaps still more than the use of documents, a rigorous discipline.

Indeed, one cannot ask the Berbères /Berbers/ -- even when we have gained their confidence at the cost of some effort -- to initiate us into all that we do not know about them; it does not occur to them that we may not know what is most obvious to them and most strange to us; this is how it happened that we spent several months in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ studying the life of the tribes without discovering the existence of the "leffs," that organization of permanent alliances without which, however, it is impossible to understand the transformation that has taken place in the country in the past fifty years; only the chance occurrence of a historical inquiry made with the oldest old men of a village abruptly revealed to us their nature and essential role. Rather /xiii/ than by confidences, it is thus by an attentive observation of the present, by meticulous research on the events of the past -- such as the oldest witnesses can enable us to know -- that one will come to understand the nature of the institutions and to discern the working of the laws that dominate the politics of the tribes.

121 On the other hand, each of the cantons in which the inhabitants of the Moroccan South voluntarily enclose their activity has its own life; particularly in the mountains, the horizon of the political life of these small republics is strictly limited; it will

/xiii cont./

121 thus be necessary to multiply the investigations in the regions where they seem bound to give the best results and to assemble gradually the information received.

[131] [133] In a land as large as a quarter of France, still poorly known, to the point where maps sometimes are almost entirely absent, we therefore at first interested ourselves in distinguishing and examining separately the various natural groupings whose boundaries are traced rather well by the geographical arrangement of the great mountain chains and valleys: western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, zone of the coastal plateaus, valley and interior plain of the Sous, chain of the Anti-Atlas, Sirwa, high valleys of the Dra and the Dadès.

121 127 114 Within each of these territories, taking advantage of favorable political circumstances and the progress of French penetration, we tried to multiply our inquiries in the form of monographs as complete as the duration of our stay would permit (1).

1. The list of the monographs prepared will be found on p. 424 /sic, perhaps p. 421 is meant; see pp. 539-540 in the translation/; part of them have remained unpublished.

121 114 Sometimes we found ourselves in regions entirely subdued, in the vicinity of the coast, under the sometimes uneasy surveillance of native chiefs; sometimes we chose the cantons of the high valleys scarcely touched yet by our arrival, where the modest, but confident welcome of minor Berbère notables facilitated our task; at other times, finally, we had to fly over the dissident tribes, to learn to know their territory, their chiefs, their traditions, and their history by means of informants chosen from each of these small republics, to which direct access was closed to us.

Thus, it was by visiting the mountain hamlets one after the other, by spending long evenings in the chamber reserved for

121 114 /xiv/ guests, high in the towers of the casbahs, or still oftener in the humbler homes of the village sheiks, that we tried to uncover the various aspects of the simple life of the montagnards of the Moroccan South. While, before our eyes, the sometimes attractive, always engaging pictures of the primitive and harsh existence in the high valleys were helping us to understand the present, the old men were telling us about the wars of the past, the traditions formerly respected, now destined for oblivion, because they had become forever useless in a new order. These invaluable recitals by hundreds of witnesses evoked half a century of history for us in the country itself, amidst ruins of villages or on the towers of fortresses, with a certainty and a lifelike precision of details that gave us the illusion of the present. Little by little such obscure struggles were illuminated for us, and in the course of the harsh stages of the Atlas roads it happened at times, in the stern grandeur of the summits and passes, that we encompassed in a single glance a vast horizon of valleys where we practiced discerning with our guides, as in a wide-open book, the hidden meaning of Berbère /Berber/ life.

122 Having reached the end of our labor, it remains for us to express our feelings of deep thanks and respectful gratitude to those who permitted us to undertake it and to finish it; it would not have seen the light of day without the confidence with which Marshal Lyautey honored us by keeping us in Morocco and giving us the necessary means for carrying on our investigations. The honor of having been thus associated in a small way with his work will remain for us the most precious memory of our African career.

The support, so kind and wise, of Colonel Huot, directeur des Affaires indigènes /Director of Native Affairs/, greatly facilitated our beginnings.

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First Book

The Sous in the Maghreb and in History

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/3/

First Chapter

The General Conditions of Human Life

I. The great political regions of Morocco. -- II. The Sous political microcosm. -- III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- IV. The climate and the regime of the streams in the plains. -- V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the mountains. -- VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- VIII. The mountain massifs. -- IX. The sea.

• 121 101 I. The great political regions of Morocco. -- The history of North Africa, in its general effect, gives us the spectacle of a series of dynastic undertakings without any order, vainly attempted in the most diverse regions in order to found Berbère /Berber/ or Arab kingdoms in the heart of a land that has remained essentially anarchic and rebellious toward unity. It is not impossible, however, to distinguish in this disorder two distinct regions. In the immense territory that goes from the Gulf of the Syrtes to the Moulouya, it seems that the chiefs, rising from the tribes or coming from the outside, are more often unable to triumph and that their ambitions are more quickly wearied by the obstinate resistance of the sedentary peoples or worn out by the inconstancy of the nomads. The far Maghreb, on the other hand, under the domination of powerful rulers, has frequently come to take on the aspect of a State. The Idrisite shorfa /shurfa/, the Almoravide, Almohade, Mérinide /Marinide/ conquerors, the Saadian and Filalian shorfa, who in the course of the centuries successively wielded power in the same places, and not without interruptions, succeeded in creating there, in spite of the opposition of their subjects, the tradition of a government of the Occident, which is not unworthy of being compared with the great monarchies of eastern Islam.

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121 Moreover, the achievement of the great dynasties of Morocco seems to have /4/ been favored by the geographical arrangement of the country, which it suffices to call to mind here. 101

133 In the Atlantic plains, crossed by the valleys of the Sebou, of the Oum er Rbiᶜa, and of the Tensift, as a matter of fact, are found territories often fertile, zones of easy passage, and ancient and populous towns. It is there that the domain of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ always extended; the small States that the most ancient sedentary peoples had created before the founding of the great Mussulman kingdoms have disappeared since the first centuries of history; the crossing of the autochthons with the Berbère /Berber/ and Arab invaders was done more deeply here, and the authority of the sovereigns of Fez and Marrakech was exercised without difficulty on tribes long bereft of traditions and deprived of any feeling of their unity.

On the other hand, the great mountainous arc roughly outlined by the chains of the Rif, of the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/, of the Atlas Central and Occidental, which enclose the broad area of the Atlantic plains, has remained the habitat of populations often rebellious, "the bled es Siba," the land of re-
121 volts and anarchy. In these natural centers of resistance, the Berbères /Berbers/ have succeeded in keeping their ancient in-
101 stitutions and customs nearly intact. They have been able to adapt, according to their own spirit, their traditions and their primitive beliefs to the new principles brought by this Islam, of which the rulers in the plains were the official representatives and interested defenders.

To be sure, these difficult regions did not live in isolation. Hostile races clashed in the mountains themselves, but, contrary to what happened in the "bled el Makhzen" /the region under the control of the central government/, the internal wars engaged in there did not make the tribes' own characteristics disappear. The most diverse ethnic elements were freely mixed there; nevertheless, their distinct origins as well as dissimilar geographic and economic influences contributed toward giving to the various parts of the "bled es Siba" a variety that

/4 cont./

121 101 stands out against the uniformity of the subdued country. It is in this way that great political regions, which we can distinguish in our day, have appeared: the country of the sedentary peoples of the Rif and of the Ghomara, on the shores of the Mediterranean, to the north of the valleys of the Ouergha and the Sebou and of the route of passage from Taza to Tlemcen; the land of the seminomadic Senhaja and of the Zenata, which covers the Saharan confines of the Dra, of the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/, and of the Haut- /5/ Guir, the Atlas Central and the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/; finally, that of the sedentary Masmouda and Senhaja, established in the western Atlas, the valley of the Sous wadi, and the Anti-Atlas (1).

[197] 1. Each of these three zones corresponds to one of the three linguistic divisions of the Berbère /Berber/ country. The first takes the name of "groupe rifain" /Riffian group/ (Arabic modes of speech of the Jbala /Jebala/ and Berbère ones of the Ghomara, Senhaja, and Zenata); the second forms the "Beraber" group (Aït ᶜAtta, Aït Seghrouchen /Serruchen/, Zayan, Zemmour /Zemur/, Beni Mtir, Beni Mgild); the third is the domain of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ (modes of speech of the group of the Tachelhait /Tashelhit/).

On the border of the Sahara, outside the semicircle formed by the Atlas, there are in addition nomadic tribes, Arab for the most part, which have at intervals become mixed up in the existence of the Empire by crossing the great passes in order to spread into the Atlantic plains. But while they entered these interior regions in the service of the great dynasties, at the boundaries of the desert they preserved a liberty that permits regarding them as elements foreign to the life of the far Maghreb.

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II. The Sous political microcosm. -- A large part of the internal history of Morocco can be explained only through the study of the relations of the central government, or "Makhzen" /makhzan/, with the various Berbère /Berber/ regions that border the subdued provinces of the Empire. In order to uncover the hidden web of the most important events of the past, whose links and causes the Arab writers have so little sought to make known to us, it would be necessary to examine the conditions under which the authority of the Sultans over the Berbère republics was developed and consolidated, to distinguish by what imperceptible transitions a personal power based on force, unlimited and tyrannical by nature, could be born, grow, and be exercised in the interior of a country traditionally hostile to a government with a single head, up to the time when dynastic crises or revolts gave the "bled es Siba" its liberty.

It would also be necessary to take into consideration the different degrees of penetration of the great Berbère /Berber/ regions by the politics of the Moroccan dynasties. The Ghomara and the Senhaja of the North, the Masmouda and the Senhaja of the South, have at various times interfered in the "bled el Makhzen" by their alliances or their wars; on the other hand, the unseizable pastoralists of the Southeast have most often remained aloof from the great events that were agitating the central plains, or manifested their existence only by an unyielding opposition; it is still among them that it is necessary to go in our day in order /6/ to find a faithful image of the existence of independent tribes that have stayed outside the great currents of the Mussulman civilization and are attached to their traditions of freedom and anarchy even more than to life.

To conduct an inquiry into the relations of the Berbères /Berbers/ and the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the whole of Morocco and in the course of history would be an ambitious and, in the present state of our knowledge, somewhat bold enterprise.

On the one hand, the institutions of the Empires that have succeeded one another in this land are too poorly known for us to

/6 cont./

121 be able, in studying them, to discover with sufficient accuracy the political rules of the Mussulman sovereigns with respect to their rebel subjects; on the other hand, tribal life, full of apparently insignificant events, of revolts and obscure struggles, lends itself poorly to large-scale research. What we know of the history of the provinces permits us only to perceive a monotonous alternation between periods of organization and of anarchy, whose deep causes are not easily discoverable at first sight.

But if we narrowly limit our field of observation, choosing a part of the Maghreb in which are found joined together in a small space and a short period the successive aspects of an evolution that is going on everywhere according to the same laws, it is possible to understand the nature of the great rhythm of Berbère /Berber/ life. One observes first of all the agitated existence of the small anarchical republics, then the appearance and development of chiefs who bring order and oppression at the same time, finally the return to disorder and liberty.

121 101 We shall study here, as closely as possible, the social and political organization of the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the south of Morocco between the Dra and the Atlantic, in this region to which the historians give the name of Sous (1).

1. Here we give the province name of the Sous to the whole region that is the domain of the dialect of the "tachelhait" /Tashelhit/. Stricto sensu, the name of Sous is often reserved for the valley of the Oued /wadi/ of that name itself and for the two versants of the Anti-Atlas. But in the eyes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the country of the Masmouda, the Atlas Occidental, is likewise part of it. The relative unity of the social structure of the tribes, the close relationship of the various languages, the existence of a kind of civilization common to all the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the South of Morocco justify our terminology.

/6 cont./

•121 [101] /Footnote 1 continued./ Here we shall use the word "Sous" in its narrow sense only when specifying that it is a matter of the valley of this river itself or of the interior plain that it crosses.

There human life takes on incontestable characteristics of unity under an apparent diversity of aspects. The Makhzen /makhzan/, the tribes, and the chiefs confront one another in turn /7/ and give us the perfect picture, in a little world in reduction, of that opposition, simple in its principles, complex in its forms, which on the whole sets by the ears the government and its subjects. In this region, more than anywhere else, it is easy to distinguish the phases of the transformation that carries along in the same current the little Berbère /Berber/ societies. We actually see minuscule states pass from independent life to servitude before our eyes; subject to influences that little by little alter their constitution and their structure, they obey similar laws and take part at the same time in the same evolution.

121 171 While looking at the Sous as a kind of political microcosm of Morocco, we shall nevertheless try to extend our observations to other regions, when the transformation of their institutions makes such a comparison possible. From examples chosen from among the Jbala /Jebala/, in the Rif or in the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, we shall show how the simple laws that the study of the tribes in the province of the Sous has disclosed to us can explain the life of the tribes in the greater part of sedentary Berbèrie /Barbary/.

121 Only the country of the seminomads of the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas will remain entirely exempt from our investigations. We thought that the different conditions of the material life, the less advanced state of the political evolution before the establishment of our protectorate, did not really allow us to establish with sufficient certitude comparisons between that region and the other countries populated by sedentary peoples. In any case the deep hostility manifested

/7 cont./

121 by most of those tribes toward the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the slight development that personal power had taken before our conquest, would render our research there nearly pointless.

Before speaking of the role played in the course of history by the Sous, far away and mysterious, fatherland of the Mahdis and pretenders, of religious reformers and the sorcerer-talebs /public scribes and notaries/, and which is at the same time the domain of independent republics, of mountain kings and great kaids, we shall try to indicate at the very start what the geographical factors that partly determine the life of men are and in what framework, marked out by nature, their existence has been able to preserve a great variety and a profound unity at the same time. Then we shall attempt to show how the peopling [181] of this vast region came about and to sketch /8/ the picture of the humble civilization of its inhabitants, of those industrious and peaceable "Chleuhs" /Shluh/, who form one of the most homogeneous and most lively social groups of Berbérie /Barbary/.

101 133 III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- The geographical boundaries of the province to which we give the name of Sous result almost everywhere from the arrangement of the relief. To the North and to the South, the plain of Marrakech /Marrakesh/ or the Sahara is the habitat of the Arab or Arabized tribes, while the Berbères /Berbers/ occupy the mountains as far as their last slopes. A line that starts from Mogador, in following at a slight distance the foot of the Atlas to Demnat /Demnate/, skirts the territory of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of Masmoudian origin. To the South it is the lower course of the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, the line of the Bani and of the Khela Tifernin that separate the country of the sedentary Senhaja of the Anti-Atlas from the steppes and deserts where the nomadic Arabs of the Sahara live.

To the East the boundary of our region is more difficult to determine. In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, if one stuck to the ethnic groups, it would doubtless be necessary to distinguish the

/8 cont./

101 land peopled by Masmouda, to the West of the passes of the
133 Glawa, from the one that, more to the East, as far as the passes of the Izoughar, is inhabited by the sedentary Senhaja established for long centuries around the summit of the Ighil Mgoun
[197] /Ighil M'Goun/. Besides, the modes of speech of the latter differ somewhat from the "tachelhaït" /Tashelhit/ of the Sous and already present some characteristics of transition with those of the seminomads of the Beraber group. If, on the contrary, one stuck to the conditions of existence and to the way of life, the passages of the Izoughar, in the vicinity of the land of the transhumants, should serve us as boundary.

The vagueness of the Sous boundaries is the same in the cultivated valley of the Dadès, which is connected by a continuous series of gardens to the one of the Haut-Dra /upper Dra/ and, like it, forms a kind of melting pot where the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the North and of the West come to merge with the seminomads of the steppes of the South and of the East. One can acknowledge that this line of gardens, 250 kilometers long and scarcely a few hundred meters wide, constitutes at the same time a transition country and a boundary, beyond which one enters the land of the Saghro on the territory of the Ait ᶜAtta, brothers of the Ait Yafelman montagnards of the central Atlas and of the Zayan.

•121 /9/ Circumstances did not allow us to pursue our investiga-
101 tions in the mountainous region of the Ighil Mgoun as far as the passes of the Izoughar. Accordingly, although the populations that inhabit it have experienced an evolution similar to that of the Atlas Occidental, and we believe one can explain by the same rules the different transformation of their political life, we shall limit ourselves to including in the number of the mountain tribes of the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group those that belong to the Masmouda family and whose territory extends from the Atlantic up to the Tizi n Fedghat, which connects the land of the Skourra with Demnat /Demnate/ a little to the east of the pass of Telwet.
[131] Thus the Sous includes all the mountain territories of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, Anti-Atlas, and Sirwa between the Dra and the Ocean, as well as the interior plain that is enclaved there.

311 /14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
24 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
166 still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[132] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[731] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further accelerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
[727] ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give
[101] to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common
[144] characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère
/Berber/ populations.

•121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- Whatever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi,
101 which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce
between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan
South that one can observe the most original manifestations of
the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at
ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[177] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the
"haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/
Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often
falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more
bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups
that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding
what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the
plains.

133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed
by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which
constant relations are established between the two versants, so
that the displacement of people, the migration of families and
tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

*631 /127 cont./
*634 always in a latent state there, and, in case of a quarrel, it proves to be very violent" (1).

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Such are the Aīt Gaīr, the Seksawa, and the little islet of unyielding dissidents of the Ida Ou Tanan; but those are, the comrades of the kaids tell us, "thieves, highway-cutters, or shepherds," of whom each speaks only with scorn. *631 There still exist among these backward populations some minor independent chiefs who lack only the acknowledgment of the Makhzen /makhzan/. In spite of the appearances of anarchy, if our informants are to be believed, they make the political advice received from Tagontaft, Bouaboud, or some other casbah at the foot of the mountains respected as far as these inaccessible summits.

[648] Thus, the system of great commands under the nominal authority of the Sultan has now been imposed on these tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ whose history has shown us such frequent revolts in the course of the centuries. In our day the Berbère /Berber/ lords dominate the whole country. No problem is posed that they cannot solve; they are, officially at least, the sole source of authority; the maintenance of order, the carrying out of our instructions are guaranteed by them, and they make peace and security prevail everywhere.

•121 *631 *634 III. The independent islets in the high mountains. -- Now let us try to free ourselves from our escort of retainers, who are too devoted to the powerful kaids of the South, in order to discover better the true state of the institutions; it has sufficed for us to perceive, at least by its external aspects, the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or that of the chiefs who exercise authority over the tribes in the name of the Sultan; but we already know that the attention of our guides is not carried /128/ willingly over to the social and political life of the small groups remaining independent at the border of the great commands. On the other hand, the study of these lost cantons tempts us, since from this

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1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909, p. 419.

/128 cont./

121 *631 *634 moment we understand that we shall be able to observe there habits and customs preserved at the price of millenary struggles and incessant effort; at the same time we should like to know what true relations the high valleys remaining free maintain with the mountain regions subject to the great chiefs; finally, we should like to know whether, in a past still rather near, numerous tribes bent under the yoke today did not know a life similar to the one that, thanks to a prodigious effort for isolation, has been perpetuated up to our day in the inaccessible parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

Let us suppose that favorable circumstances or some clever ruse permit us to escape for a moment from our usual companions, too assiduous in following us and directing our research; let us transport ourselves without them for a few instants to a high summit such as the Igdad, at the sources of the Nefis, from where one embraces an immense horizon of mountains and plains. It will be enough for us to question the Berbères /Berbers/ who surround us, coming from the villages in the high valleys of the vicinity, in order to discover other aspects of life that have remained hidden until now and that form a striking contrast with the ones that we have just perceived. At the same time, we shall try, thanks to the memories of the oldest of our new guides, to prolong in time this rapid inquiry and tie the present to a past that we conjecture to be so rich in important events. Perhaps we shall then be able, by comparing our personal observations with the picture of the domination of the great chiefs already sketched, to find again the diversity of Berbère /Berber/ institutions and to distinguish better the stages of a recent transformation that is still taking place before our eyes.

133 From the high summit to which we have just come, the whole great chain, from the sea that one conjectures in the distance to the mountains of the Glawa, appears to us easily, cut from the North to the South by the three great routes of the Tizi Maᶜcho, of the Nefis, and of Telwet. Toward the North the mountains are tiered in becoming lower by successive degrees to reach the Azaghar of Marrakech indefinitely stretched out on the horizon.

/136 cont./

*631 traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir
*634 about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favor-
[578] able occasion for having the authority that they have acquired
recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political
evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by sub-
mission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen
/makhzan/ (1).

[648] 1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of the Seksawa have submitted directly, without passing through the agency of the Bouaboud chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their example a few months later.

*631 Without having the importance of the independent group of
619 the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evo-
•121 lution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there
all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the
autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular
interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient
[178] institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and
[174] help us to find again what the social organization of this whole
region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pasto-
*634 ralists of the Ikhzamen, Aït Maghlif, Aït ᶜAbdallah, Aït Qalla,
in the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit, have up to now escaped
619 the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys.
[669] As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of re-
[712] sistance to the political transformation were concentrated around
large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which
enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general
*634 storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But be-
fore the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Aït

/139 cont./

175 *631 178 [619] [578] In the same period, and up to the establishment of a caliphate of the sultan at Tiznit in the last years of the nineteenth century, the villages of the plains and irrigated oases, such as Massat, Mᶜader, Aglou, Tiznit, had also kept their democratic organization intact. Without doubt these small tribes, which were like melting pots into which the most diverse elements from mountain and plain came to be blended, were torn by internal party struggles. But perpetual anarchy did not succeed destroying the vitality of these surprising republics, ceaselessly divided, ceaselessly reconstituted (1).

1. Cf. our study on the tribe of Massat, Hespéris, 1924, 4th quarter.

It was only the constant presence of the Sultan's representatives, after the expeditions of Moulay el Hasan, the desolation of famines and epidemics at the time of El Hiba, and above all the abrupt re-establishment of the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ since 1916 that could have caused the inner life of past times to disappear. Here again, it would suffice to question the old men in order to know what this country was before being reduced to the state of dismal passivity which at present no longer distinguishes it from the most submissive regions of the Empire.

•121 128 *631 /140/ VII. The successive phases of the transformation of the South of Morocco. -- It was not the desire to use a convenient method of expositon of our subject that led us to imagine the fiction of a walk across the Sous under the guidance of companions of the great kaids, then that of an ascent on one of the mountain summits, thanks to the information of the inhabitants of the high valleys. In reality, we were able in this way to examine the two opposite aspects of the country, that of the Atlas seen from Marrakech, as the Makhzen and the chiefs perceive it or wish to describe it, and that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, whose number and vitality one can get to observe only by slipping away from the official guides for an instant and, on the contrary, casting one's eyes from the highest regions toward the plain.

•121 /140 cont./

128 *631 The contrast of these two pictures will now permit us to understand better the successive phases of the country's transformation.

*631 177 In a region that was formerly similar to the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura, the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, at first very slow at the beginning of the nineteenth century, rushed along for two generations among the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. Formerly it had as agents kaids settled at the foot of the mountains, whose influence, often discussed, was penetrating into the Atlas through the great valleys. For fifty years it had above all been the work of autochthonous chiefs acting in the heart of the country, with a power that later became almost unlimited. One then saw clashing with assemblies of notables, expressing the will of the tribes, kaids speaking in the name of the Sultan, and acting with a force unknown up to then, through the agency of caliphates and sheiks; almost always the establishment of sherifian authority had as a consequence the rapid destruction of local traditions and customs.

*631 But it was particularly at the time of the development of Moroccan anarchy, during the first years of the twentieth century, that the transformation imposed by the conquest was more violent. [726] The furious wars that were waged by the three great chiefs of the Atlas on one another for the possession of the tribes accentuated still more the importance of the changes that had taken place. At the same time the domination of the great kaids hardened; soon a powerful feudal façade appeared, which masked from us the existence of independent groups and concealed from us the deep unity of the social structure of the whole /141/ country. *631 648 It was then that the French policy of penetration into the South of Morocco, supported by the Makhzen /makhzan/, found interested auxiliaries in the person of the great kaids. This clever rally permitted them for ten years to consolidate their power further and to apply themselves to making, by energetic domination, everything that might recall the too-recent origins of their power disappear from our sight.

*631 642 [177] [178] •[121] [124]

/143 cont./

amghars, then to that of the great Berbère /Berber/ chiefs of the mountains, and finally to effective domination by the Makhzen.

In order to study the republican institutions, it will suffice for us to describe the former state of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, calling upon the still-precise memories of the old men and observing the social state that has been preserved in the most secluded mountain valleys; it is in this region, to which one could give the name of "Kabylie du Haut-Atlas" /Kabylia of the High Atlas/, that it will be easiest for us to find again the most highly developed form of Berbère /Berber/ government, that of the /144/ assemblies of notables, presided over by a "moqaddem" named for one year. The Sous plain, before its submission to the Makhzen, the Sirwa, the region of the Dadès, of the Todgha and the valleys of the Atlas that descend there offer us analogous examples of oligarchic organization. On the other hand, the region of the Ida Ou Tanan, the mountains of the western Anti-Atlas, with their more egalitarian constitutions, are more attached to a democratic organization. We can then [121] easily show, by a rapid comparison with other groups of the Jbala, of the Senhaja of Sraïr, of the Rif, and of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, how the south of Morocco possesses, in spite of present appearances, a profound similarity of structure with the other regions of North Africa peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ remaining faithful to their secular traditions.

121 *631 *634 It is still the same region of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, confined between the Nefis wadi and the Bibaoun pass, that appears to us to be the most favorable place for examining how the power of the amghars rises in the heart of these small republics. Similar in origin to those who appear in all the other Berbère /Berber/ tribes, we shall see these minor chiefs grow in importance here little by little, by means of the war, while depending on the territorial alliances that take the name of "leff."

Soon the development of the amghars' power will lead us to study the establishment of the regime of the great kaids. The chiefs of Tagontaft present the most perfect picture of this political organization, while those of Telwet and Bouaboud,

/144 cont./
•121 by their origins, belong more to the tradition of the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/.

*634 Finally, the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas, in the
land of the Haha, the interior plain of the Sous and of the
121 Chtouka, will give us good examples of definitive submission to
*631 the Sultan. The undertakings of ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi in the middle
648 of the nineteenth century, and, nearer to us, those of the
Glawa, will help us to understand the last phase of the transformation
of the tribes. It is only then, as we shall see, that all
the former cadres are broken; having arrived at this degree of
submission, the Berbère /Berber/ country has the same regime
of government as the great plains of the North peopled by Arabs,
dominated by kaids, caliphates, or sheiks, themselves delivered
up to the caprices of the Makhzen. The Sultan's absolute power
is thrust upon all; but this despotic Makhzen itself remains
threatened by internal anarchy; it struggles desperately, until
/145/ the establishment of our Protectorate, against the incessant
revolts that break out on all the confines of the Empire.

121 VIII. The political transformation of the Sous, image of that
of Berbérie /Barbary/. -- Our ignorance of the history of the internal
*631 life of the tribes does not permit us to study the evolution
of the Moroccan South over a long period. We shall scarcely succeed
in following it during the course of the events that have disturbed
the Sous for three generations. But in this brief interval of
[642] time we are going to see the obstinate will of the Berbères /Berbers/,
whose ideal is to realize, by their constitutions, the chimera
[578] of the equitable sharing of the advantages of power, to clash with
the unbridled ambition of the amghars and kaids.

*631 The transformation that results from this struggle and is accomplished
178 in less than a century, according to the same rules,
at different points of a vast province, is not, we now know, the
121 first that the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has undergone. Other
chiefs, as we have seen, rose and grew in importance in this
same country at the times of the Almohades and Mérinides; if
we cannot know the conditions under which their power took

/145 cont./
*631 shape and disappeared, one may believe that the play of social
121 forces, remaining so similar in themselves in the course of cen-
[178] turies, was exercised formerly in the same form as today.

One might go further and seek out in other provinces of the Sherifian Empire, now subject to the Sultan's authority, the traces of an evolution similar to the one that the South of Moroc-
*631 co underwent several times. In a still more general way, the
121 Mussulman history of North Africa as a whole gives us the spec-
tacle of attempts, ephemeral for the most part, undertaken by
171 ambitious men to found a personal power analogous to that of the
Berbère /Berber/ amghars and kaids of the Sous. By force of arms, or thanks to the support of religion, they build small states, assemble around themselves a group of tribes, and found dynasties that try for two or three generations to retain in a centralized organization the peoples that they have subjected to their authority.

But the conditions under which these principalities are constituted in a land remaining on the whole faithful to republican institutions most often remain obscure. Perhaps /146/ we shall succeed, in the light of this study made on a still-living past, in illuminating some of the hidden rules that explain their rise, their life, and their disappearance.

*631 The example of the South of Morocco will show us how the
121 fragile cadres of the little Berbère /Berber/ states can be broken
up in order to constitute a larger political organism to which one
178 can almost already give the name of kingdom; we shall also see
642 in what way these cantons, formerly autonomous, soon recover,
*634 thanks to revolts, their early liberty and return to, along with
their egalitarian dreams, their primitive institutions. Thus the cycle of evolution of the Sous tribes, which has its origin in organized anarchy in order to arrive at the ruinous despotism of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and does not delay in coming back to its point of departure, thanks to the confusion of the sibas, will for us be no more than the most humble aspect, the elementary form of another rhythm: that of the rise, development, and ruin of Mussulman empires, whose regular seesawing suffices to fill all the history of the Maghreb with a tireless monotony.

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Chapter II
The Small Berbère /Berber/ States:
Canton, Tribe, Confederation

000 I. The social units. -- II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- III. The "taqbilt," fraction or canton. -- IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt." -- VI. The tribe: difficulty of defining its nature. -- VII. Equilibrium of the fractions within the tribe. -- VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- IX. The historic confederations. -- X. The factitious confederations. -- XI. The "canton" is the essential political unit in the Sous. -- XII. The social units among the western Jbala. -- XIII. Importance of the "khoms." -- XIV. Tribes and cantons among the Senhaja of Srair. -- XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- XVI. The Kabyle "taddert" and "ᶜarch." -- XVII. Importance of the canton, political cell of the Berbère /Berber/ States.

121 I. The social units. -- In order to distinguish the true nature of the political institutions of the Moroccan South, we had to seek, beyond appearances, the permanent reality constituted by the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the mountains. Behind the feudal façade recently put up by the masters of the Atlas, we perceived the resistance that the tribes, stubbornly attached to their democratic or oligarchic institutions, have for several generations set against the amghars and kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Before studying the play of the forces that led to the transformation of the country, it is necessary to examine the external aspect of the small social units of the Sous, to trace out their contours, and to determine the nature of the alliances that unite them in larger groups. Neglecting for the moment to consider the administrative divisions of our time, we shall put off until later the study of the great commands, of their organization and boundaries, and we shall try first of all to study the nature of the [124] parts that constitute them. This time again the inhabitants of the upper valleys remaining free, or else, in the regions

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transformed /148/ in our day by the Makhzen, the old men who have lived the life of yore, will be our surest guides; better than the servants of the kaids, who know above all the divisions established in the tribes with a view to facilitating the assessment of taxes, they will be able to help us discover the social structure of the Berbère /Berber/ country.

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Rapid inquiry permits seeing, as a matter of fact, that the boundaries of the great commands do not correspond in any way to natural divisions; these frontiers usually follow the traditional boundaries of the tribes, but since they have been fixed by conquest, it also happens that they share in an arbitrary manner a territory formerly undivided; finally, in the very interior of regions placed under the authority of one of the powerful kaids of the mountains one observes the presence of small states, numerous and entangled, some superposed on others, whose long existence, attested to by local history, shows us past activity and
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*631
tenacious vitality. The same structural complexity also appears in the Berbère /Berber/ regions directly subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ -- such as the country of the Haha, the plain of the Chtouka, as well as in all the rallied or dissident Anti-Atlas. It is these small units, which the often arbitrary organization of the command has not always respected, which merit holding all our attention here.

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The small groups out of which Berbère society is made up can be classed according to their degree of importance: the simplest is the hamlet or village; the villages frequently combine to form the unit to which we customarily give the name of subfraction in our administrative terminology; several subfractions or some ten villages constitute a small elementary state, which one generally designates by the term of fraction and to which we shall here give by preference the name of "canton"; a union of fractions, three or four, sometimes eight or ten, takes the name of tribe; a group of tribes or a considerable aggregate of fractions -- twenty or thirty -- that of confederation.

Although a confederation is divided into tribes, a tribe into fractions, a fraction into subfractions, and a subfraction into

/149 cont./
621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confederation
*631 of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Gedmiwa,
619 "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Afifen," that of
128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ^{c}Azzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ^{c}Atta (2),
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whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are designated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif,
[101] seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/ society, whose value we have already questioned and which we shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

•121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
128 the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gou^{c}azzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ou^{c}Azzoun; among the Aït ^{c}Atta, the tomb of Dadda ^{c}Atta on the banks of the middle Dra.

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121 128 local institutions before they were broken up by the advance of the personal power of the chiefs and of the Makhzen /makhzan/. It will then be easy for us to extend our observations to the rest of the Sous region of our day, transformed by submission, as well as to the still-free mountains of the Anti-Atlas.

Finally, a rapid comparison with the country of the Jbala of the north of Morocco, the Rif, and the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit perceiving the unity of social structure of the largest part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

Doubtless it will sometimes happen in the course of this study of the social morphology that we shall simplify some aspects of the life of these little superposed organisms, in order to mark better the nature of the characteristics that permit them to be distinguished. Therefore one must be aware that the value of our classifications is only approximate and that we must often limit ourselves to defining "average types," while neglecting the individual forms that sometimes diverge from them somewhat because they have the variety inherent in all that lives, is born, grows, and disappears. Besides, people will not be surprised that our observations do not always enable us to explain the facts by clear and logical notions, which are unknown by the primitives. The bonds that connect a Berbère /Berber/ to his fraction, to his tribe, to his confederation call on representations that sometimes seem to us obscure or even contradictory; consequently the small states defined by these bonds will sometimes appear to us in indistinct aspects, very different from the ones whose nature we should like to describe by means of precise and positive characteristics.

621 /151/ II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- The social units easiest to define are the smallest, and it is particularly easy to observe the life of the hamlet, village, and subfraction whose activity is limited to the circumstances of daily life.

[361] In all the mountains of the Masmouda, most of the inhabitants of the valleys live grouped in small hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths, constructed on the sunlit slopes or on a detached peak or a high rock, in a spot propitious for defense.

/182 cont./

*634 spontaneous organization, but also in a large part of the bled
616 makhzen /region controlled by the central government/ governed
171 by the kaids. Nowhere, however, does this institution show such
importance as in the mountains of the Masmouda, between the
Bibaoun trail and the col of the Glawa. If one neglected to study
it, it would be impossible to understand the conditions in which
the evolution of the country proceeded for a century.

•121 After having examined the nature of these alliances in the
616 country of the /183/ Masmouda, we shall be able to compare
171 them usefully with the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, with those of the
chain of the north of Morocco, in the Rif and the Jbel, and with
similar institutions that have been observed for a long time among
the sedentary peoples of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura.
Perhaps it will then be possible for us to perceive, in an apparent
variety of aspects, the successive stages of the same evolution,
and thus to bring new evidence of the unity of social structure of
all sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

616 In spite of their vitality, the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High
177 Atlas/ cannot be studied without grave difficulties. In truth, if
177 they remain nearly intact around high summits, they have been
178 profoundly affected for 50 years by the penetration of the Makhzen
/makhzan/ and by the substitution of personal power for the
small democracies and conservative oligarchies of former times.
*[634] Just as we often find the boundaries of the cantons and former
[619] "taqbilt" half effaced by the new organization of the tribes, in
the vicinity of the plains or in the big towns, so the memory of
the leffs is beginning to be lost in all the parts of the mountains
subject to the great kaids for two generations. Near the Dir, only
616 a few old men who still know the events of Sidi Mohammed's
177 reign can tell us their exact composition. If we go up toward the
178 summits without penetrating into the dissident regions, only the
124 grown men who took part in the combats of the "siba" of Moulay
el Hasan are reliable informants for us, for already the young
men, who have grown up in obedience to the Makhzen /makhzan/,
clothed in cotton, illuminated by the light of candles,
used to the tea and to the improvements of our era, are at the

/183 cont./
616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the in-
178 habitants of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to col-
124 lect easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the
children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that sur-
round their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of
the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the
leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the moun-
tains of the Masmouda.

• 121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed
only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose politi-
616 cal horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons
*634 of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in
all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the op-
posed parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our
best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs
of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to
unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their
weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their
leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to
themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account espe-
cially their personal friendships and hates rather than the most re-
liable traditions.

Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
121 sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
*634 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in
616 various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted
128 here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as
enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alli-
ances that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The
map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms
a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit
together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of
[175] the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
000 difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

Having reached
• 121 /184 cont./ this point in the investigation, one
finally comes to understand that the institution was intact before
178 the period of the development of personal power and that the
*634 transformations that have taken place since then are explained
616 by the political action of the great chiefs.
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II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- Let us
174 therefore carry ourselves back, setting aside all the recent in-
*631 formation that we could collect on the leffs, to the time when
*634 the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud were still shut up in the
narrow boundaries of a fraction or a tribe. We have said that at
616 the end of the reign of Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman the kaids of the
Makhzen /makhzan/, then established at the foot of the Atlas, were satisfied to exercise their command through the agency of minor amghars themselves dominated in the mountains by the policy of the leffs. Up to this period, no sign of decline had yet manifested itself in this Berbère /Berber/ institution /185/ of alliances of cantons whose state of equilibrium gave the country of the Masmouda great stability, in spite of the unrest of all these little states.

Under various names, according to the regions, two great alliances concluded among the fractions of the Atlas united all the small political units belonging to the tribes settled between the Bibaoun passage to the West and the col of Telwet to the East. In the tribes of the Seksawa, the Demsira, the Mzouda, and the Gedmiwa, the two parties were called the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern." Among the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik, the Gheghaïa, the Ourika, and the Glawa, they were the "Aït Fademt" and "Aït Tzeggout"; the Asif Nefis was divided into "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." Finally, all the south versant of the great chain, between the country of the Ida ou Zal and the sources of the Sous wadi, was divided between the "Aït Zolit" and the "Ida Ou Zeddagh." At that time and still in our day in the greater part of the country, one saw the constant alliance of the leffs of the Indghertit, Aït Atman, Aït Fademt, Aït Zolit against the Imsifern, Aït Iraten, Aït Tzeggout, Ida ou Zeddagh. Thus it was indeed, in spite of the diversity of names, two permanent

/216 cont./

000 unity of the fractions, such as appears in the most anarchical regions of the Rif.

Whatever may be the value of the hypothesis that we are proposing in order to account for the formation of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs, a comparison of the various aspects of this institution suffices to show how it is bound up with the most general conditions of the material, social, and political life of the tribes. When one studies the existence of these little elementary societies, one is struck both by the tyranny exerted on the individual by the group and by the powerlessness of the latter to make anarchy disappear from its bosom. The leffs materialize and project on the soil, one might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berbère /Berber/ life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord.

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Chapter IV

The Republican Organization; the Political Institutions

I. The institutions of the Mouda^{c}. -- II. The council of the canton. -- III. The inflas; their magical origin. -- IV. The moqaddem. -- V. The distribution of the fines. -- VI. The councils of cantons or of tribes without moqaddem. -- VII. The justice circuits. -- VIII. The internal and external wars. -- IX. The festivities and the dances. -- X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Jbala, of the Branès. -- XI. The Riffian anarchy.-- XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/.

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We have shown the particular importance of the small social unit that, under the various names of "taqbilt" in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "khoms" in the Anti-Atlas and the Rif, "^{c}arch" in the Djurdjura, is the true fatherland for the independent Berbère /Berber/. Indeed, it is within these narrow limits of a state to which we have given the name of canton that the simple and patriarchal institutions of the oligarchic republics, in which the inhabitants of the high valleys have delighted for long centuries, have developed.

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*634 .121 First we shall try to describe the organization of these small states in the region of the western Atlas. This organization has doubtless been partially transformed for two generations by the development of personal power. But one can still, by studying the life of the fractions remaining free up to the present in the most remote valleys, find what was formerly the political life of a large part of the mountains of the Masmouda, to which it would not have been exaggerated to give, half a century ago, the name of Kabylie du Haut-Atlas /Kabylia of the High Atlas/. Next, by comparing this region with the best known parts of the Anti-Atlas and of the Rif, it will be easy to see once again the similarity that exists between the political traditions of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco and those of their Kabyle brothers of Algeria.

*634 621 632 /218/ I. The institutions of the "Mouda^{c}." -- The "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda is most often formed by a group of "mouda^{c}." The "mouda^{c}" joins together several hamlets; the hamlet, several families. Each of these small units has its traditions, its customs of life in common, and, one might say, its "political constitution."

613 The family, "Ikhs" (pl. ikhsan), as we have said, is a patriarchal and agnatic group, more or less undivided, which most often includes ten or fifteen hearths. It usually suffices, in order to find again the eponymous ancestor of the Ikhs, to go back three or four generations, for, as we have seen, the renewing of the population is rapid, even in the high valleys; very frequent epidemics, exile, the struggle of soffs suffice to disperse the most vigorous groups or limit their growth.

595 In each household a rigorous monogamy is observed; in the regions at present won over by the political transformation, one hardly sees even the sheiks who have become rich marry a second wife late in life. [539] A saying of the Gedmiwa promises the greatest misfortunes to those who bring a second wife into the household: "O you who have two wives, may the grasshoppers

/244 cont./

000 their internal peace, the suspicious deliberations of the assemblies suffice to drive any great thought from the minds of the family heads; they keep them in the narrow circle of patriarchal laws that are the strength and the weakness of Berbérie /Barbary/.

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Chapter V
The Republican Organization (continued); the Economic Institutions

I. The hospitality. -- II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- III. Absence of collective properties. -- IV. The markets and the fairs. -- V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past.
VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.

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171 The analogies that we have found between the political organization of the small republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, of the Sous plain, and of the Anti-Atlas and those of the other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ appear in most of the economic institutions. Hospitality, protection of foreigners, organization of common meals, mutual aid for plowing and harvests, regulation of the markets give in particular to the populations of the South of Morocco the occasion to exercise, like their Kabyle brothers, their spirit of fellowship and their natural aptitudes for the fair division of the burdens and benefits of social life.

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343 While doubtless one should not expect to observe in the region of the Sous, because of the slight density of the population, an activity as intense as in the villages of the Djurjura, we shall at least see how the institution of the "agadirs," storehouses that all the inhabitants of a hamlet, of a "mouda^{c}," or of a canton use at the same time, sharply bears witness to the necessities of existence in common and a cleverness in collective organization that perhaps has not been surpassed in the rest of North Africa.

/261 cont./

343 712 178 tradition, were sufficient to precipitate their ruin, even in the regions where the Makhzen /makhzan/ never penetrated. Thus it is that in the high valleys of the Atlas agadirs are no longer built; a certain number of fractions or villages do not possess any; each one more and more becomes accustomed to keeping in his house all his reserves of grain and walnuts. If one compares this slow disappearance with that which is still more marked in the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, situated out of the reach of the Sultan's harkas, it is doubtless permissible to think that we are in the presence, throughout the Atlas, of the progressive decline of an institution that in our day has kept its full vitality only in part of the central Anti-Atlas.

343 712 174 178 One could doubtless go further and try to follow in the past and in other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ what the evolution of the collective storehouses could have been. Perhaps it is permissible to think that the custom of constructing these fortresses and leaving there /262/ the provisions that are not needed for daily existence is a legacy from the most ancient periods, having come from the time when the population, sedentary today, was still given to nomadism (1).

(1) Cf. our study on "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

Whatever its origins may be, it is doubtless an institution whose decline, so apparent at present, permits judging the state of weakness into which in the Sous most of the traditions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics have fallen.

121 178 VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.--Before trying to understand how the chiefs who will make the secular traditions disappear rise and grow in importance, thus facilitating the submission to the Sultan, we can cast our eyes once again on the province of the Sous, in which we have found the best examples of the organization of the independent tribes;

/262 cont./
• 121 we shall see there without difficulty the state of ruin of the insti-
178 tutions that we have described.

Until the middle of the last century, the small independent
178 states remained nearly intact among the mountain tribes of the
*634 western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. But in this "Kabylie" /Kabylia/
171 of the Masmouda, the little social units were less strong and vigorous than the ones of the Djurjura. Under the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/, as we have said (2), their cadres yielded little by little; even in the high valleys of the Tichka, the oligarchic organization is struck everywhere in our day by a decline that might seem definitive.

178 In the greater part of the country, except in the most remote
cantons, even in the vicinity of the summits of the Seksawa, even
*634 the memory of the moqaddems has often disappeared; people still
know who the Aït Arbaᶜin were, who at each siba revived the
former institutions, but the agadirs, the porte-bonheur "inflas,"
the policy of leffs are definitely part of the past. This disappear-
[648] ance was precipitated by the establishment of the Protectorate
and by the economic transformation that has been taking place
for 20 years, since the opening of Morocco to European commerce.
178 The ancient traditions no longer find usefulness in the new life.
The old men no doubt still recall to one another the time when
/263/ the rivalries of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" were the subject of heated discussions in the low rooms of the sequestered hamlets of the mountains, where one went to bed in the evening on a carpet of dry grass by the light of twigs of resinous wood. But the young people, who were raised in recent times with "sugar, candles, cotton cloth," know nothing of the life of the past. Likewise, the songs and the dances of the "Aït Tskawin," with the silver horn, are in their eyes no more than a survival, an amusement to which backward montagnards devote themselves and whose importance only the old ones understand.

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2. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. I, p. 176.

/269 cont./
642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
*634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for
two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inflas"
weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop;
the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich
and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A
little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality
not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers
soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also
transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
[578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
[613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
[616] "taqbilt."

If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
[669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a
canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in
various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of
government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
[175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High
Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of
the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great
kaids, during the period that preceded and facilitated their
domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in
the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political
pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft,
and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

•121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
*634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious,
without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they
substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have
destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
*634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

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•121 of tiring the reader's patience, it is necessary to draw his atten-
*634 tion often to the little revolutions taking place in obscure can-
[669] tons, to observe their local consequences, and to compare them
with one another. Indeed, without taking hold of precise examples, one cannot come to understand the essential aspects of this eminently unstable and ephemeral form of transition between the government of the assemblies and /271/ the one of the kaids. On the other hand, the history of the last three generations is rich enough in the Atlas of the Masmouda to offer us a choice among a large number of amghars -- about 40 -- whose similar origins and the identical mode of growth indicate rather well that they appear and develop while obeying the same rules. It will suffice for us, in order to show what these conditions for the rise of personal power are, to choose and study here the clearest and simplest examples.

*634 II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the
578 amghar. -- The private wars, which so often trouble the life of
613 the independent republics, above all have as their cause, as we
have seen, the existence of several rival "ikhs" always ready to appeal to force as soon as their interests appear to them to be threatened. Each "taqbilt" always possesses, in fact, among the ten or fifteen families that form it, two or three stronger, richer, and more warlike groups, to whom the others come to seek sup-
[571] port. These are soffs naturally constituted and which exist at
least potentially.

The heads of these most important families of the canton conduct as they like the deliberations of the council, in the bosom of which the equality of the "Aït Arbaʿin" is purely specious. The temptation is great for the influential members of the little senate to entrust the office of moqaddem to a candidate who defends their interests exclusively; a struggle frequently breaks out in the course of this nomination, and in the melee an ambitious man triumphs with the support of the strongest "ikhs." He often gets to exercise the magistrature for several years and

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*634 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
556 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
434 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar
661 by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained
/275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire
in his own canton.

Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[651] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the
[486] cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the
Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself --
at least publicly -- without failing. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the
"taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be
found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects
and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat,
the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single
chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
721 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to receive
guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to
571 augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous,
[574] entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to
seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and
the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for
[616] sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the
support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the
service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts
in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles,
he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its
defeat.

• 121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

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•121 who appeared about 1860, that of a minor amghar of the Seksawa,
*634 El Hajj Hafid of the canton of the Idma, grown great at the time
128 of the rivalry of the kaids of the Mtougga and of the Nefis at the
beginning of the present century, finally, the spectacle of the
rivalries of the amghars of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg for 80
years will make us understand better what help the opposition
of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs brings to the ambitious.

175 IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860).
*634 -- At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the country
616 of the Nefis was still placed under the distant authority of the
kaids of Agergour, of the tribe of the /276/ Ouzgita of the Jbel
Kik, the villages that rise in the mountains on both sides of the
valley belonged, according to the cantons, to the two leffs of
the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." From the Aghbar to the
entrance of the wadi into the plain, these cantons of the two
parties alternated regularly, and nowhere did the "checkerboard"
of Berbère /Berber/ rivalries achieve so perfect an equilibrium
between the two alliances. Each group obeyed a minor amghar
who held power both from the Makhzen /makhzan/ and from the
notables, and succeeded in establishing a just balance between
the opposite tendencies of the two forms of government.

About 1850 the war between the two leffs, the "Aït Atman"
175 and the "Aït Iraten," became extremely violent between Tinmel
*634 and Agergour, and the minor chief of the canton of Toug el Khir
616 won out over his enemy of the Targa n Aït Iraten, who perished
726 in the combat. The defeated "Aït Iraten" of Targa and of the
Asif Amezghouni then called on their leff brothers from the
cantons of ʿAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert, in the Haut-Atlas
/High Atlas/, who came in large numbers, under the command
of their amghars, to help them in the name of the ancient bonds.

175 One of these amghars, El Hajj Ahmed n Aït Lhasen, descend-
159 ant of a taleb of the Anti-Atlas, who had formerly come into the
*634 valley of the Nefis in the capacity of village fqih /faqih/, was
commanding the group of the four small hamlets of Gokten,
Wigit, Isqalen, Artatein, to which one gives the name of Tagon-
taft. El Hajj Ahmed, who was both a respected fqih /faqih/ and

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/293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establishment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the families. S [121] Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organization and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-Atlas may present.

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XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Morocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of personal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen /makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very close to independence. R [616] Moreover, the village and canton republican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states, the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

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Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that sometimes led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years. The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

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*634 The rise and the development of the power of the chief of
616 Tagontaft offer us the most complete example that we can find of
•121 a leader who became great by means of the struggle of the two leffs
159 and who succeeded in conquering a fief of which he became the absolute master. We shall not find, in the history of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the nineteenth century, other amghars who won such successes solely by the working of the politics of the leffs. Two other chiefs, born in the country of the Seksawa, whose political role we are going to study, did not reach the same degree of power as the Gontafi and have remained up to our day apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/. But we shall nevertheless see them rise like him, by routes a little different, above the institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ canton that limit their first efforts, and little by little free themselves from the servitude of the leffs (2).

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[127] 2. We are borrowing this study of the minor
[113] chiefs of the Seksawa from the works of F. de la Chapelle, sometimes reproducing the very terms that he employs (Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtouggi/, 1926; "Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain /A great kaidate of the Moroccan South/," Af. française, Oct., 1927, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental /The Formation of Monarchic Power in the Berber Tribes of the Western High Atlas/," Hespéris, 1928, pp. 263-285).

175 II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- We have
159 already mentioned how the father of Mokhtar Seksawi, the mo-
*634 qaddem of Awines, /307/ Hammo ou Bella, of the canton of the
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175 their wishes to him" (1).

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159 1. Unpublished notes of F. de La Chapelle.

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[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country,
this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a
true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important
[178] role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his
subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his
flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the
last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise
his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

*631 We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting
*634 the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order
619 to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If
616 that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction
of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the
small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute,
in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of
cantons of the two leffs.

*634 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last
616 example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain
•121 Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the
648 "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals
to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen
/makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon
as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that
133 come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little
plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees,
its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little
natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local
politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

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command. The memory of the state of equilibrium of the opposed "taqbilt," of the two leffs regularly alternating in the valleys, is effaced more and more. Henceforth when the masters of the casbahs go to war, they carry along behind them compact masses of tribes to which are sometimes still given the name of leff, but whose alliance no longer has any of the characteristics of the Berbère /Berber/ institution of the past. The latter has made the amghar's fortune, but it hardly survives his success.

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IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? -- In the course of this study, we have given all our attention to an inquiry into the political conditions in which the amghars' power rises and grows. It turned out that the stages of their development appeared to us to be closely bound up with the mechanism of the alliances and the rivalries of soffs and leffs, as if social causes were acting alone in the milieu of the tribes in order to make leaders capable of constituting small independent commands emerge from the Berbère /Berber/ assemblies. On the other hand, we have almost entirely neglected to make allowance for geographical determinism /321/ in order to explain the evolution that occurred in the institutions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ during the past century.

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One might wonder nevertheless whether the very arrangement of the big valleys and mountainous massifs did not play an important role, even a determining one, in the transformation of the country. The presence of the three great chiefs of the Atlas in the vicinity of the three major routes that cross the mountains, the Tizi n Telwet, the Tizi n Test, and the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, do they not suggest that the ancestors of these great kaids could have been the masters of the cols long ago and that they drew valuable advantages out of a privileged situation?

Moreover, if the region of the high summits remains the natural refuge of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, do not the small catchment areas, the fertile basins where the valleys grow wider for a moment, indeed offer cadres all prepared for the domination of chiefs, while the great routes of communication

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trace in advance the direction toward which their ambitions will carry them?

Whatever may be the interest of these considerations drawn from the geographical arrangement of the country, it would be imprudent, the history of the tribes shows us, to give them too much importance in order to explain the appearance of the minor chiefs who manage the conquest of a state.

To be sure, the possession of these small natural centers, favored both by the richness of the earth and the ease of communications, such as Tinmel on the Nefis, Adasil in the upper Asif el Mal, greatly facilitates the exercise of power and gives the master of the country useful resources; but the opposite is also true: the harsh existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ on an infertile soil spurs the warriors to conquest. Doubtless the hidden "silver mine" by which foreigners think they can explain the successes achieved by the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft was nothing, as we have seen, but the fertility -- completely relative, besides -- of the lands of the Asif Nefis; again the minor chief had to drive the inhabitants from them before increasing the meager revenues from the hills of Tagontaft by means of the good harvests of Arghen and Tinmel.

As for the advantages given by the control of the passages of the Atlas, they can doubtless be invoked in order to make one understand how the fortune of the kaids of the Glawa developed, but they could not explain the initial success of the chiefs of the Nefis. [651] [486] [485] The latter never collected the "zettata" from travelers; they hardly belatedly built "nzala" to shelter them. It /322/ is still more difficult to appeal to this explanation for the kaids of the Mtougga, whose power was backed by a tribe situated away from the route of the cols.

*634 *631 121 182 It is true that the possession of a major route of communication, the construction of a casbah at the exit from a valley, obligatory road of the montagnards who go down toward the plain, give a chief a superiority that he knows how to use; but as we have seen, amghars rise and become important as frequently in places that at first sight do not seem very favorable for the growth

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*631 of their forces, and it is then that the passive influence of the
•121 soil is effaced before the active reality of the energy of men and
182 the strength of their institutions. Here, as elsewhere, one per-
*[634] ceives that the arrangement of the routes, the fertility of the valleys and plateaus, or the inaccessible situation of the high plains create mere possibilities which men turn to account on occasion and which also sometimes remain unutilized for long centuries.

But energetic men capable of dominating their brothers are born in every country in the roughest mountains as well as in the fertile basins of the big valleys. It is by the use that they know how to make of social forces, the cleverness with which they call on the soffs, on the leffs, on the solidarity of the tribes, that they first come to win power. After that they take possession of the most favorable places to exercise this authority that their courage and intelligence enabled them to acquire.

X. The amghar does not possess magic power. -- It would be
*634 difficult to find, in the restless life of the amghars of the Haut-
554 Atlas /High Atlas/, events that can permit us to invoke any magical or religious prestige for the origin of their power. While
[778] it seemed possible to us to establish a connection -- fragile, it is true -- between the councils of inflas, senates of the small Berbère /Berber/ states, and the porte-bonheur, "inflas el kheir," who make the important acts in the life of the tribes favorable by their mere presence, the amghar does not at all appear to us to be endowed with a beneficent "baraka" and does not possess hidden virtues. Like the moqaddem whom he replaced, he is only a temporal leader and derives his authority from "the strength of his arm." Everything carries him toward exercising a despotic authority, accepted only because he is strong. Without doubt, when his power has grown by cleverness, ruse, war, or /323/ crime, tradition likes to halo him with legends, or even explain his successes by prodigies. But the imagination of the Berbères /Berbers/, their taste for the "sacred," their love of the marvelous remain incapable of carrying them beyond that. In our epoch at least, one finds no index that permits comparing the

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*634 It is by an alliance with the Sultan that we are going to see
648 the chief of the Atlas continue his ambitious career and carry his
178 tribe along to distant and profitable conquests, the consequence
of which is the ruin of the country.

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Chapter III

The Great Berbère /Berber/ Kaids of the Mountains

I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1883). -- II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). -- III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy (1850-1894). -- IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire (1902-1913). -- VI. Submission to France. -- VII. The internal organization of a large command. The casbahs. -- VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands. -- X. The transformation of the customs. -- XI. The great kaids' policy of conquest. -- XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- XVI. Does a Berbère /Berber/ feudality exist? -- XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs.

175 In the course of the last years of the nineteenth century one
*631 could see rising at the same time, in the various parts of the Haut-
Atlas /High Atlas/ where up to here we have looked for the most
numerous examples of the appearance and development of the
"amghars," great chiefs who, in the name of the Sultan, conquered large territories. Their power marks the last form of transition between the old tribal organization and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

•121 It is possible for us to follow, for about 50 years, the en-
128 deavors that these Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains pursued
*631 in order to increase their power in the South of Morocco, to

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121 enslave their subjects, and to mingle in the life of the Empire.
128 This study allows us moreover to observe the similarity of the
*631 rules that control the organization of their commands and of
their conquests. With respect to the Makhzen /makhzan/, they
preserve a surprising parallelism in their attitudes and policy, so
that one will rightfully be able to speak, from the time of the
entering of Marrakech by the French, of the "regime of the great
chiefs."

121 Before examining the form taken by the domination that the
128 new /327/ masters of the mountains exercise over the tribes, and
which marks the ruin of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the
175 overturning of the traditional social organization, we must first
*631 retrace the successive stages of the career of the great chiefs.
Four distinct periods can be considered: up to the end of Moulay
el Hasan's reign, they are content to increase their forces in their
tribes without manifesting their ambitious projects and are hardly
to be distinguished from the other minor kaids of the vicinity.
175 During the first part of the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, from
*631 1894 to 1902, we see them throw themselves separately into the
[648] conquest of the best regions of the country that are found in the
vicinity of their casbahs; then, when anarchy breaks out in the
whole Empire, from the war of Bou Hamara up to the moment
when order is re-established at Marrakech by Colonel Mangin's
victory in 1912, they multiply the distant expeditions, fight
jealously among themselves in order to keep their conquests, to
obtain command of the tribes long subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and compete in order to make their candidates win the
supreme power of the Empire. Finally, after agreeing to serve
the Protectorate, they finish consolidating their establishment;
they hardly dream anymore except of obtaining from their subjects the resources necessary for the life that they lead with their
relatives and companions in their large fortresses of the Atlas or
their rich houses in Marrakech.

128 It will be suffice for us here to outline, during each of these
*631 periods, separated from one another by dynastic events, the
policy followed in their domains by the three mountain chiefs.

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175 anxious to engage in combats that could put the sovereign on
*631 guard and attract his fearsome attention. It is known that he is
648 resolutely hostile to the excessive development of the power of his kaids and that he tries to split up the commands everywhere (1);

> 1. At this moment we see the Sultan give the title of kaid to a notable of the Seksawa, Lahsen /sic/ ou Mbarek Chtittihi, although he is incapable of having himself accepted in the mountains. Moreover, it is known that the number of kaids increased considerably in the reign of Moulay el Hasan (Erckmann, Le Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, p. 122).

so each one limits himself, in the shadows, to paving the way for the future while awaiting an impending crisis.

IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- In fact, the death of Moulay el Hasan leads to a veritable explosion of the forces accumulating within these Berbère /Berber/ mountain commands. The "siba" of some months that then breaks out facilitates intrigues and the first annexations. Then when peace is restored and Ba Hmad, the former Hajib turned into grand vizier, reigns in the name of the still young ʿAbd el ʿAziz, the mountain chiefs feel free to act in their own way toward the south. In 1897 each one rushes on the prey that he has coveted for a long time; until 1902 the struggle will go on without truce among the kaids, the amghars, and the independent republics.

•121 In view of the successes won so rapidly by the kaids of the
*631 Atlas, it is difficult to explain their development by only invoking the favorable circumstances created by the anarchy following the end of a glorious reign. The establishment of a new form of domination realized by several chiefs over large areas in a few years seems to imply the existence of a more precise cause. It is easy to discover it by examining the circumstances in which the

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•121 conquest of the tribes was realized during these five years of war:
*631 it is the presence of modern armament in the hands of the great kaids.

175 In the course of the two sherifian expeditions into the Sous,
*631 in 1882 and 1886, there figures in fact, for the first time in the
/335/ mehallas of the Sultan, a true artillery, operated by
713 specialists, under the command of a French officer; machine
648 guns and especially cartridge guns thus appear, which attract the
439 attention of the Berbères /Berbers/. The young mountain chiefs
understand immediately the advantage that they will be able to draw from these new arms, against which the old flintlock guns of the montagnards will be worthless. Thus shortly afterward we see the Glawi ask for and get from the old sovereign, upon the passage of the mehalla from the Tafilelt, a Krupp cannon and modern guns. The Gontafi and the Mtouggi take care to buy at Mogador or to obtain from the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Ba Hmad, "Martinie" and "Chassepot" guns in order to put them in the hands of their companions. The supplying of arms to the South of Morocco is all the easier because the European powers are then competing to intervene in the affairs of the Moroccan Empire, and because certain of them are facilitating the clandestine importation of guns and cartridges, both on the Rif coasts and on those of the Sous. For twenty years, until the progress of the contraband enabled the tribes remaining independent to acquire in turn chassepots, lebels /French magazine-rifles/, and Mausers, the kaids of the Atlas will enjoy marked superiority in combat, thanks to modern armament; they will be able to utilize it to break all resistance and to constitute their large commands in a few years.

175 The Glawi, fortunate possessor of the Krupp cannon, first be-
*631 gins the struggle against the amghars of the south of the Atlas,
around whom are grouped the independent tribes. All forces of
*634 resistance to the penetration of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ -- for
726 Si el Madani invokes the name of the Sultan and orders received
648 from Marrakech in order to justify his conquests -- unite around
the amghar ʿAli n Aït Haddo of the A[illegible]ineb, whose father,

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*631 Mauritania grouped around the Mahdi el Hiba, proclaiming to
175 the people of the Sous the rule of justice and the expulsion of the
648 Christians at the same time. Shut up almost immediately in their casbahs upon the proclamation of the pretender, delivering up today to the most complete anarchy the country that they exploited yesterday, the kaids of the Atlas could not wish for the success of this holy-war movement: they feared too much, actually, that the Berbères /Berbers/ of their commands would be tempted to turn their forces against them in a moment of enthusiasm and easily succeed in destroying them; taking the side of order, of the Makhzen /makhzan/, even that of the Christians if they were the strongest, there lay salvation. In exchange for their /364/ submission to General Mangin the three great chiefs, who were promising to keep the tribes obedient, saw the prospect of new conquests opening for them. Delivered from the threat of this explosion of fanaticism and anarchy, which for an instant had risked carrying them away, the great kaids were henceforth going to devote their efforts to carrying on the work of the subjugation of Berbérie /Barbary/ in their states on behalf of the Sultan and of Islam with a renewed ardor.

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Chapter IV

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Domination by the Makhzen and the Transformation of the Country

I. The Sultan and his court. -- II. The sherifian army. -- III. The tax circuits. -- IV. The Makhzen's Berbère /Berber/ policy. -- V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- VII. Abuses. -- VIII. "The siba." -- IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions.

•121 In following the political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/
178 mountain tribes, we have seen them reach that degree of transformation where the difference between the country formerly independent and the bled makhzen occupied by the Arab tribes of

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•121 178 the plains no longer appears in a precise manner. Henceforth the independence of old is all over. The traditional organization in the Dir of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is no more than a memory in our day, while it is prolonged by mere survivals in the region of the summits.

*631 648 We shall now see the central government intervene in a more and more direct fashion in the life of the Sous. The pasha of the Marrakech casbah, the autochthonous or foreign kaids, changed and recalled according to the ruler's whims, have become masters of the country; to make themselves obeyed, they have the forces of their slaves, of the Arab "gich," or of the harkas, and intervene without circumspection, in order to make the taxes come in and to repress revolts. Such is the hard reality with which the last reactions of the formerly autonomous communities of the South of Morocco clash.

128 648 177 178 It remains for us to describe in the pages that follow the form of the new power and to show what its means of action, its habitudes, and its traditions are in the political role that it is henceforth going to play in the tribes. It goes without saying that we shall not try /366/ to redo one more time the tableau of the former Makhzen /makhzan/, with its picturesque and out-of-date court, its palace intrigues, the abuses that it maintained, the skillful disorder in which it kept Morocco in order to use it better for its own ends, through the revolts and internal crises that ended up by ruining the Sherifian Empire. The travelers who crossed the country before the establishment of the Protectorate, Foucauld, Segonzac, and especially Erckmann, have given a painting of the old government of the shorfa /shurfa/ so faithful that is useless to try to fill it in. Here we shall only try to tell what the action of the Makhzen has been on the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco and how it has finished modifying the social condition of the populations of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and of the interior plain of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

000 I. The Sultan and his court. -- The name of the central government, the "Makhzen," magazine /Fr. magasin/, indicates by its very etymology the idea of an institution fashioned above

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Conclusion
The Political Evolution of Sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/

I. The Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- III. The Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms of North Africa. -- IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. -- VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen. -- VII. The political future of Berbérie /Barbary/.

•121 171 I. The Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- In the various regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, as we have seen in the course of this long study, the same social institutions rule the Masmouda, sequestered in the depths of the remote valleys of the Deren, the inhabitants of the market towns and hamlets that rise on the parched plateaus of the Anti-Atlas, the Jbala and the Riffians in their harsh mountains with peaks crowned with cedars, as well as the Kabyles of Algeria whose villages occupy the summits of the Djurjura like eagles' nests.

In all these regions, separated from one another by immense spaces, men live while obeying the same laws in spite of their diversity of origin and notwithstanding the variety of the conditions of material existence. That they have kept their millenary traditions they owe to the isolation of their territories. The present-day evidence of their institutions has a historic value; they give us the picture of what the Maghreb might have been if the Arab invasions in the East and the formation of the great Empires in the West had not ruined the minuscule states in which the Berbères /Berbers/ like to conceal their activity.

121 *634 571 171 [642] Two primordial tendencies determine the political life of the Berbères /Berbers/: in the first place they feel repugnance toward the constitution of a state of some size, they spontaneously organize themselves everywhere into small units whose dimensions do not exceed those of a mere /394/ canton and which are the veritable fatherland for the sedentary peoples; in the second place, by a kind of instinctive genius, the Berbères /Berbers/ form systems of balanced alliances that permit the small autonomous

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•121 mountain states to aid one another in war and peace. Sometimes
171 these associations, to which the name of leffs is often given, are
*634 linked with the memory of the great struggles of the upper Middle
571 Ages between the autochthons and the invaders; sometimes they
appear to us as venerable institutions whose origin is no longer known and which are closely bound up with the conditions of material existence and local traditions.

The political regime to which the Berbères /Berbers/ remain
121 attached with the most firmness, when they are living in inde-
171 pendence, is thus a kind of organized anarchy; all the large
*634 families apply themselves then to maintaining, within the bound-
642 aries of a canton, a rigorous equality among them; it is under
these circumstances that constitutions originate, democratic in appearance, oligarchic in fact, which have the purpose of regulating among all the notables the equitable sharing of the profits of power and of distributing among all the inhabitants the burdens of the common life. The Anti-Atlas, the Rif, the western Jbel, Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the conquest hardly knew, it seems, any other institutions in the course of history; the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ itself, which has seen such surprising political transformations for two generations, was still found in the middle of the past century divided into small republics similar to those of the Djurjura at the time of its independence.

121 When the tribes preserve their traditional political organiza-
tion, one barely sees arise, under identical aspects in these di-
171 verse regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, a precarious per-
619 sonal power limited to the narrow frontiers of one tribal fraction
*634 in the cadre of one valley. The petty tyrannies that then form
578 are so fragile that the chiefs, emerging from the struggle of the
soffs within villages, barely masters of a minuscule territory, are most often carried off without return by a change in the equilibrium of the parties in the interval of one or two generations.

121 One region alone forms an exception to this extreme in-
171 stability of the power of the amghars, who are usually only the
ephemeral masters of the little mountain cantons. The Sous at
*631 the end of the nineteenth century, and more particularly the part
*634

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•121 of the Atlas contained between the col of the Glawa and the Tizi
171 Ma^{c}cho, actually offers us /395/ the spectacle of the simultaneous
*631 appearance of a large number of minor chiefs who manage
*634 exceptionally well to consolidate their authority and to banish for
a time the tradition of egalitarian republics. Soon, however, a
[178] complete evolution takes shape before our eyes: in the course of
the last 20 years, one could observe all the forms of transition between
the humble amghars, masters of a few villages sequestered
under the walnut trees in the depths of the gorges of the Atlas,
and the great kaids, possessors of large tribes, who, from the
depths of their casbahs, govern the states that they have conquered
[648] by force. The latter moreover in their turn pave the way, by
ruining the ancient institutions by means of which they took
power, for the arrival of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the establishment
of a unified Mussulman Empire, whose laws seem to us
similar to those of the great Oriental monarchies.

In the course of the first part of our study on the Berbère /Berber/ republics, and when we tried to become acquainted with the circumstances under which the temporal power of the canton amghars appears, we were able to multiply the comparisons between the Sous, the Rif, and Kabylie /Kabylia/. But during this short period that saw the rapid development of the authority of the great chiefs in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it seemed to us that we were in the presence of a political regime almost unknown, at least in recent epochs, in the other regions of North Africa populated by sedentary peoples.

121 Perhaps now, after having analyzed at length the conditions
128 under which the power of these "lords of the Atlas" is formed, we
may try, by casting our eyes farther, to put their domination side
*631 by side with those of the Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms and Empires
whose sudden constitution the history of the Maghreb sometimes
shows us; by comparing successive phases of their growth with that
of the principalities of the Sous, we shall then perceive the deep
causes of the strength and of the weakness of these astonishing
political constructions, looming up so rapidly from the obscurity
of tribal life and which disappear without having succeeded in disturbing
in any lasting fashion the immobility of the Maghreb.

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175 mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances
631 that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the
182 heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete
648 ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the
chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ᶜAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village; ᶜAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaᶜin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

S
• 121 IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From
171 the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of
*631 the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter
554 of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral
182 kingdom of ᶜAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who

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121 want to succeed in dominating and subduing the tribes are inspired
171 by the same principles in a social milieu remaining like itself.
*631 The constitution of a small solid core, resistant, blindly devoted
554 to the leader, linked with his interests, remains in all circumstances
182 the necessary condition for success. Even when great religious thoughts or a kind of national feeling manage to come to light in the fractioned mass of Berbère /Berber/ republics, the prophet or conqueror must have the positive balance that the strength of a clan or of a tribe represents, in order to break down particular resistances and to orient the efforts of all the small communities toward the single end that he is proposing for their activity. /405/ The existence of this central group of brothers and faithful ones moreover enables us to understand the irresistible power that the Berbère /Berber/ enterprises of conquest can attain when an internal force assembles in that way and directs the martial energy of the montagnards. But it explains to us at the same time the fragility of these amazing political constructions, capable of returning to nothingness as easily as they come out of it.

121 In fact, the great chiefs of today were yesterday men of a
canton and of a tribe; they keep intact in the depths of their memory,
171 as do all the companions from their village associated with
*631 the work of conquest, the recollection of internal hatreds and ancient
554 vengeances, which make up the life of their small fatherland.
182 Each difficulty of their enterprises, however, will be marked by
the awakening of those hostile forces that they dominated for a
578 time, in the very vicinity of the modest hamlet from which they came, and they will often have to intervene with implacable tenacity in order to annihilate them, under the penalty of being swept away by the return of their enemies, whom fortune seems to favor anew.

Even when the Berbère /Berber/ amghar would succeed, by a
*[634] prodigy of political spirit, in maintaining the union among his
[616] canton or tribal brothers and in moderating the hostility of the leffs and soffs in the bosom of which he grew, he would not, however, be able to find in his previous experience the example of

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•121 institutions and laws suitable for directing him in governing his
171 new state. All his cleverness has been exercised up to then in
*63 the narrow cadre of a village assembly; it is not in these repub-
554 lics, where a concern for ensuring equilibrium among the ambi-
182 tions of the greedy and stubborn "inflas" too often takes the place
578 of a feeling for the public interest, that the leader can get les-
616 sons in disinterestedness and wisdom.

*634 Consequently let us not be surprised that this Berbère /Berber/
121 state is ignorant of the laws of the city, that it has no capital
171 other than a fortress in the heart of a warlike tribe. The leff
spirit, the taste for pillage and booty here take the place of an
*631 ideal of justice and a feeling of faithfulness. It is not in this coun-
182 try that one can see growing, as in our Western feudality, that
powerful hierarchical organization whose base is the family, the
king the keystone, and which, like a vast cathedral, is capable of
surviving for long centuries, even when the forces that caused it to
rise have disappeared.

121 /406/ In Berbérie /Barbary/, antagonism is too marked and
hate too deep between the chief surrounded by his brothers and
171 companions, on the one hand, and the heavily taxed subjects on
*631 the other; the burden of the domination of this tyrannical master
182 very quickly becomes intolerable. Also, just as the walls of the
house of the lord of the Atlas crack when they are scarcely out of
578 the ground, so does his power, as soon as it is founded, soon give
signs of approaching ruin. The great chief's father was a victori-
ous amghar who conquered the tribe; he himself knows how to pre-
serve or extend the domains received as inheritance; but there will
come his son, who will be incapable of triumphing over both
family quarrels ceaselessly multiplied or "siba" ceaselessly rising
again; his grandson will hardly still be the master of a canton. In
half a century the defeated ones of former times will have taken
back their lands and the assemblies will have profited from the
anarchy to restore the former law, forgotten for a time.

[648] When the Makhzen /makhzan/ intervenes in time to collect
the political heritage of the Berbère /Berber/ chief before his
descendants have allowed it to be dispersed, its government

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● 121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legisla-
*631 tion of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

792 /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --
795 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the ex-
*631 istence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
[175] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the
[178] mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
[128] time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
[648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

343 /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to
712 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the
[114] Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/. Brives pointed out
the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys
by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

[113] 1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

[178] While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and
which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of
grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the
country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region
neighboring the summits.

114 After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was
121 possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize
343 the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. With-
712 out trying to make here a complete study of this institution of
[348] collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a
time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and
the arrangement of these curious constructions.

The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to with-
343 in the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an
712 agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/
178 of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida
621 ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction
of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt,
Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those
of Tanouzekt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout in ruins.